DELPHIAN TEXT

PART FOUR

DELPHIAN TEXT

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PART FOUR

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THE FOUNDATIONS OF PRESENT DAY CULTURE

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CREATING THE TRUST FUND OF CULTURE

THE UNIVERSITY-CITIES OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT
THE BUILDING OF ROME

Seventh Month

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GREEK GENIUS AND ITS MEANING TO US

THE explanation of the perennial interest in things Greek, and of the enduring value and charm of Greek Literature is not far to seek, although well-informed people have sometimes very hazy ideas regarding it. It is not merely, or even primarily, that many of the external elements of our civilization are inheritances from the Greeks—our alphabet, for example, a large element in our language, and many, if not most of our literary forms. These things are, of course, clear and tangible; but the true explanation goes far deeper and deals with matters more subtle and more significant; for here as elsewhere the spirit is more than the letter.

Yet it is difficult to speak of this subtler influence, which touches the deepest and most fundamental issues of life, without seeming to deal with commonplaces. To learn how to face the facts of experience; to seek to know the truth and to accept it when found; to keep one's natural instinct for self-expression within the limits imposed by the fact that one lives one's life in social relationships; to study the world of physical phenomena and also the world of inner, spiritual experiences; ever to keep oneself in hand and to be the master, not the slave, of outward circumstances; and amid the struggle, however grim, that life may entail, to keep alive one's realization of the beauty and richness of life and one's feeling for the wonder and beauty of the outward world—these things are surely elements in men's higher task here on earth. Yet in seeking to achieve this task no man or woman can by any possibility make a new start for himself or herself, and pass through the manifold experiences, or acquire the knowledge requisite to successful achievement. We are of necessity dependent in no small measure on the experiences of others, and for this reason the importance of historical studies, rightly pursued, is

patent to everyone. Through the study of the experiences of humanity in the past, its achievements and its failures alike, we gain a clearer perspective and attain to a deeper knowledge of basic conditions, which alone can make possible the living of a life of largeness and completeness. Now of course every people in every age has in some measure influenced human progress, and contributed its part to the complex life of our day; if we single out the Greeks for special study, and lay particular stress upon their contribution, it is for two reasons: first, their contribution is in a very true sense unique; and second, we can study their achievement and the way in which they faced ultimate questions and developed their singularly clear and sane philosophy of life, as we can that of no other people; for the record of their experiences is preserved for us in a literature which is without parallel for clarity of thought and for beauty of expression. More than this: in the few centuries in which the Greek genius found completest expression, it happened that the Greek people passed through a range of experiences so broad in their scope and so fundamental in their character, that they touched almost every side of the problem of human living. For this reason to deal with Greek thought is to deal with questions that are ever fresh in their interest, and that are as significant today as when they were first propounded.

It is a truism that it is impossible in a single phrase or a group of phrases to sum up and express the genius of any people, but some of the characteristic elements of the Greek genius stand out in such clear relief that they may not be passed over; and a consideration of these will aid us to appreciate our indebtedness to Greece and the enduring value of Greek studies.

First we may stress, as perhaps the most striking trait of the genius of the Greeks, their tirelessness in the quest for truth, and with this their fearless acceptance of truth when found. This is perhaps more fundamental even than their love of beauty and their love of freedom; although the Greek love of beauty and power to create beauty stand without a parallel, and the Greeks were the first of peoples to develop and maintain civic freedom. True, it is quite

the fashion now-a-days to emphasize the limitations which hemmed in the life of the individual in antiquity, and to deny that in the Greek democracies civic liberty existed in fact as well as in name. But this is to forget that the laws by which individual liberty was restricted were essentially self-imposed; they were not decrees of a despot to whose power the people at large were subjected. Freedom accompanied by discipline was the Greek ideal; and for this liberty and these restricting laws the citizens of a Greek commonwealth were ready to lay down their lives. In the noble passage in which he tells of the two Spartans who voluntarily took upon themselves the duty of going to Persia to be put to death in requital for the murder of Persian envoys of an earlier time, Herodotus makes them say to the Persian general Hydarnes, who sought to convince them that they would gain rich rewards by submitting to the King: "You know what it is to be a slave; but of freedom you have never tasted to know whether or not it is sweet."[x]

Many modern writers have been inclined to think of the Greeks as an easy-going, happy people, who took delight in all the beautiful and joyous aspects of life, but who had a faculty of closing their eyes to what was hard, or ugly, or disagreeable; but nothing could be further from the truth. They did indeed enjoy to the full the good things of life, and they hated ugliness as a vice; but it was their habit to look facts steadily in the face, and they never sought to purchase peace of mind by denying the reality of uncomfortable truths. So clearly indeed are the limitations of mortal lot apprehended,—the inescapable sadness of life, the severing of human relationships, the inevitable end of all living—that a tone of pensive melancholy pervades Greek thinking from Homer down; but it is never a pessimism that paralyzes action; "the Fates," says Homer, "have given to man a soul that can endure." No, there was no blinking of facts; truth, once apprehended, was unflinchingly accepted.

It is perhaps necessarily a hard task for us to think ourselves back to a time when the first steps in all the fields of human knowledge were still to be taken; when science was as yet unborn, and the methods of scientific thought as

yet unimagined; but only as we seek to do this can we in any degree appreciate the astonishing progress made by the Greeks in laying the foundations of that structure of ordered and tested scientific knowledge, the rearing of which we are apt to consider as perhaps the most striking achievement of the present age. "Philosophy," says Plato in one of his striking phrases, "is born of wonder"; and this is certainly true of Greek thought. With them the wonder born of a contemplation of the outward world passed quickly and naturally into an earnest enquiry into things and their causes, and the quest for truth became for them a passion. So it resulted that in most of the fields of science they took the indispensable first steps. We with our instruments of precision have immeasurably widened the range of man's investigations into outward Nature, and have revolutionized the methods of the older seekers for truth; but of the Greeks alone, among the peoples of antiquity can it be said that, unaided by guidance from without, they raised themselves out of the darkness of ignorance into the light of clear and reasoned thought in the field of scientific investigation. They strove not merely to observe, but to master what Plato calls, in another of his great phrases, "the long and difficult language of facts."[v] It is indeed not too much to say that the progress made by scientific enquiry during the few centuries from the rise of Hellenism to the death of Aristotle was far greater than that made in the eighteen hundred years that intervened between the death of Aristotle and the birth of Copernicus.

But it is not only the phases of Greek thought shown in their endeavor to establish a reasonable view regarding the outward universe that attract our attention. In their attitude of mind toward this problem, and in their endeavor to find an answer to the many baffling questions involved in it, they do indeed show us what wonders the untrammeled human reason can achieve; and they attained to basic conceptions which remain fundamental in all modern philosophic and scientific thought—that, notably, of a universe made up of elements brought together and controlled by a guiding principle: a conception which is virtually that of natural law;—but in every field upon which they touched

they brought into play the same faculty of clear and fearless thinking, and so contributed largely to the intellectual advance of mankind.

A glance at the interesting but perplexing field of Greek religion will further illustrate this characteristic of the Greek genius, and the essential sanity of their habits of thought. We find the Greeks, as contrasted with other peoples of the ancient world, singularly free from base and degrading superstitions. They conceived the world of outward phenomena and the world of inner experiences as alike controlled by powers higher than man, to whom man rightly paid offerings and sacrifices; but his gods were not to the Greek dark, demonic powers before whom man must cower and cringe in abject physical and moral abasement, nor did he think of them as of hideous or bestial aspect. On the contrary he attributed to them the noblest of forms, and conceived them as glorified men and women—as beings having human form, but exempt from all the ills of mortal life, and knowing nothing of toil or of suffering, of old age or of death. One has but to contrast the radiant forms of Homer's gods with the monstrous figures in which the base imaginings of many peoples have been incorporated, to understand what is meant by Greek sanity.

Now it is patent that religious ideas expressed in terms of a mythology, however beautiful, would as time went on fail to satisfy the awakening moral consciousness, and that a clash between faith in the non-normal gods of the poets and the enlightened thought of a later age was inevitable. But here, too, we can learn a lesson from the Greeks. Freedom in the quest for truth whether in the field of religion or of science they regarded as man's inherent right; and the history of Greek intellectual progress is singularly free from anything like interference with the sovereign rights of reason. "Let us follow the argument, whithersoever it leads" is an oft-reiterated phrase of the Platonic Socrates; and in general the only constraint laid upon the thinker was that imposed by truth itself. This sort of thinking might, to be sure, lead to conclusions different from those currently accepted, it might clash with religious conceptions as ordinarily held, but none the less

in the view of the Greek to follow where Truth led was a paramount duty.

This untrammeled intellectual freedom was possible for the Greek because of the fact that in the higher realms of thought, where science and religion and philosophy blend, there was no fixed body of dogma to act as a restraining influence, no priestly class to repress the liberty of the investigator, and no crystallized formulation of thought in sacred writings. True, men often speak of Homer as the Greek Bible; but the Homeric poems were a "Bible" only as being a "book" with which everybody was familiar, and which expressed ideas and portrayed types of the gods which obtained everywhere at least conventional acceptance. Yet there is no dogma in Homer; and it is a striking fact that the moral consciousness of a later age found much in his teachings and in his portrayal of the gods which it could only condemn. Pythagoras, Xenophanes and Heraclitus, three great names in the history of thought, each in turn protested against the Homeric theology. "Homer and Hesiod," says Xenophanes, "ascribed to the gods everything which is a disgrace and shame among men"; and Plato, despite his love for Homeric poetry, actually banished Homer from his ideal state largely because of the teachings about the gods found in the Iliad and the Odyssey. It is plain, then, that the Homeric poems were not a restraining influence to curb freedom of thought.

At the same time the teachings of advanced thinkers must often have shocked those who clung tenaciously to the older way of looking at things, and as the teachings of natural science came into collision with mythological views, it must have seemed that the new doctrines were godless. Indeed the philosopher Anaxagoras was not the only one to be brought to trial on the charge of atheism; the same accusation was most unjustly brought against the pious Socrates, and, as all know, led in part to his condemnation and execution. Yet these are isolated cases. There never was in Greece any definite and organized repression of thought or persecution of thinkers.

Love of truth, then, a tireless quest for truth, complete intellectual freedom, and a fearless acceptance of all truth

when found—these are Greek characteristics, and a part of our Greek inheritance; for they are significant elements in the contribution made by Greece to the intellectual and spiritual advance of mankind.

It would be interesting, did space permit, to trace this attitude of mind in other fields as well, in order to see more clearly how true it is that everywhere the Greek recognized the paramount claims of reason. All matters of social relationships, the organization of separate communities into states, the theory of governments, the question of ethical values—all these were made the subjects of reasoned thought, so that to the Greeks first we owe the formulation of a science of Ethics and a science of Politics. We, of course, do not profess to accept without question all the conclusions to which Greek thinkers came, or in any sense to assume that they said the last word on either of these subjects. In the realm of ultimate values the last word is never said; but the significant fact is that here too the Greek faced the problem with frankness and sincerity, seeking to solve it not in the light of traditional views, but in the light of reason. Hence the value to us of the Greek work in these fields. An examination of Greek political theory, and of the city-state as a product of constructive Greek thought as applied to political life may indeed seem remote from the life of today and a subject of study only for specialists; but no one who acquaints himself even vaguely with the Greek formulation of ethical values can fail to see how significant for us their reasoned theory of conduct is. A life of liberty tempered by discipline, wise moderation in thought and in conduct, a sober restraint which meant the keeping of oneself in hand in any situation —have our ethical conceptions advanced far beyond these, save in the addition of the virtues which are distinctively Christian?

We turn now to another aspect of the genius of the Greeks, their love of beauty. This side of their nature is the one which has most generally been taken for granted ever since the awakening of the interest in the Greek art in the eighteenth century. But modern writers have allowed themselves not only to construct a false picture of

the Greeks as lovers merely of the beautiful and agreeable; they have often failed to understand the fundamental principles of Greek Art.

We must not assume that the Greeks were, so to speak, supernaturally endowed with the power of artistic creation. They were indeed lovers of the beautiful, and they lived amid surroundings which tended to accentuate that love; but the power to create beauty is something that man acquires by long and patient labor. To this rule the Greeks form no exception; and very fortunately we are able to trace the steps by which, in the field of sculpture, for example, they attained to the mastery which enabled them to produce work which has been at once the inspiration and the despair of the artists of later days. The secret of their progress was that they sought whole-heartedly to express in outward form the mind's image of the thing portrayed; and their sure instinct led them to avoid inanimate subjects, in the treatment of which art can do no more than give an imperfect imitation of Nature, and to choose not animate subjects alone, but in particular the human form, which offers to the artist inexhaustible opportunities for the creation of satisfying types of ideal expression. At the first the artists had a very imperfect knowledge of art-anatomy: the veriest tyro can point out defects in early Greek statuary. But, undaunted by failures, and even profiting by them, successive generations of artists labored on, observing more and more closely, remedying this defect and that defect, each artist making his own every advance made by his predecessors, and himself handing on to those who came after him such betterments as he himself achieved, until in a surprisingly short time crudeness gave place to absolute mastery, and it was no longer a question of what the artist could do, but of what he chose to do; and throughout all we never fail to see sincerity of purpose and the avoidance of all that is trivial or incidental, and we are nowhere struck by a striving for effect, or by the putting of sentimentalism above true sentiment. Now it is in precisely these things that Greek art can teach us some much-needed lessons—conscious and definite working toward an ideal; mastery won through patient labor; a wise restraint which

keeps the artist from seeking to go beyond the limits of his art. Here, too, as in the field of conduct, the principles of "Nothing too much" and "Know thyself," became handmaidens in the service of beauty; here, too, we find freedom tempered by discipline.

For we must note that in the estimation of the Greeks moral and æsthetic values were not strictly differentiated. Living so as to make life all that it should be was to them an art; a noble deed was beautiful; and conversely the same word denotes the ugly and the base, and the sight of ugliness seems to have brought to the Greek a feeling as of physical pain. So, if among the Greeks we find no such passion for righteousness as that which meets us everywhere in Hebrew literature, we must realize that the passion for beauty which we never fail to find, covers a part at least of the same field; though it remains true that, while the Greek was fully conscious of the ugliness of vice, he was rarely oppressed by a sense of the exceeding sinfulness of sin.

We turn now to a brief consideration of the literature of the Greeks, in which their genius finds perhaps its fullest and clearest expression. Here again, as in our consideration of the Greek quest for truth, we must endeavor to think ourselves back to a time when what is now the common property of all was as yet non-existent. For, quite apart from its supreme excellence, Greek Literature is unique in this respect: it developed wholly independently of outside influences. It is entirely a native growth, and is the only great literature embracing many forms of which this can be said. It is therefore most illuminating to see how the Greeks devised for themselves adequate literary forms, as the creative impulse came to demand channels for expression.

It may well be that there never was a time when mothers did not sing lullabies to their children, when women grinding corn at the mill did not seek to lighten their labors with some sort of a rhythmic song, or when the warrior who had slain his man did not chant a song of victory over his fallen foe; but lyric utterance was not the first to attain to artistic form. On the contrary, the tales of great deeds

of former days to which men of a later age loved to listen, these it was that first found expression in noble and fitting diction, and Epic poetry was born. What the successive stages of development were we can never know; but the poems of Homer, as monuments of constructive art and of artistic expression, have held an almost unquestioned supremacy in the minds of all who have come under their spell. Everywhere in them we feel the hand of a master, who together with directness and simplicity and an unerring instinct for poetic values, possesses also an unfailing instinct for style. Almost all of the characteristic traits of the Greek genius are seen in Homer; and to his nobility, his straight-forwardness, his truth to essential human nature, must be added the charm of the spirit of freshness and of youth that breathes through both the poems. Not that the Iliad and Odyssey are naïve, simple folk-poems, as some have thought; they are products of a conscious art that has attained to mastery; but they bring to our souls none the less, amid the tumultuous complexity of our modern life, the freshness of an age when the world had not as yet grown old. Here, then, is one art form—the Epic—which men of later ages took over as a finished product. They modified it by adapting it to their own æsthetic and spiritual ideas; they made it learned and ponderous and didactic; but go beyond it in ultimate perfection they could not.

The second great department of poetry to develop was what we roughly call the Lyric, and in this, too, the Greek instinct for beauty and for truth, the Greek note of humanity and directness, have ever impressed the sympathetic student. Whether in the elaborate choral ode, in the impassioned out-pourings of the individual singer, or in the fragments, which are only too often all that has been spared to us from the wreckage of the years—"jewels five words long," they have aptly been called;—we everywhere see beauty of form and of language, soberness, directness, truth.

Then came the Drama, latest-born of the departments of poetry alike in time and in organic development,—a Greek creation and a Greek gift to the modern world.

For however much we may be inclined to lay stress upon the new birth of the drama, in England, for example, in the sixteenth century, it remains true that the classical tradition had never wholly died, and that, however indirect and obscure the channels through which it was exerted, the Greek influence played its part.

In the field of prose literature, also, the Greeks had to create their own forms, and in considering these we must remember that they did not come into being until long after the various departments of poetry had attained to full development. Poetry is not dependent upon the wide-spread use of writing in order to win currency; prose is, almost necessarily; and can hardly attain to fixity of form until it is written down; and not the Epic only, but lyric and dramatic poetry as well, had reached perfection of form before men began to write prose. Barren lists there were, of course, lists of Olympian victors, for example, and lists of priests or priestesses, and so on, together with bare chronicles of notable events; but it was not until the wonderful bursting into bloom of the genius of Greece in the period following upon the wars with Persia that men began to gather together and set in order these chronicles. In the generation after the wars Herodotus set himself to tell the story of the great struggle, and prose sprang into existence; for the "Father of History" is also the father of prose writing as an art. Never before him had the charm of prose been felt; rarely since his day has his own charm been equaled.

Thus one of the great departments of prose literature had its rise, and the long continuous development of narrative in all its multitudinous forms became a possibility. It was not granted to Greece fully to develop all of these; some were indeed quite alien to her genius; but the art of history-writing, and with it the conception of history not as a mere chronicle of events—the *res gestæ* of the Roman, —but as an inquiry into events and their causes—these things we owe to Greece. We may add that she may teach us further, what the ultra-scientific school is apt to forget, that the presentation of historic truth is quite as much an art as it is a science.

But narrative is not the only or necessarily the highest form of prose literature. The Greeks made of prose also a fitting vehicle for the presentation of the processes and the results of philosophic thought, and this again under the perfect artistry of Plato rose to an elevation that has perhaps never since been equaled.

The third great department of prose, Oratory, came into being to meet a very patent need. It was indispensable to a citizen of an ancient commonwealth that both in the law courts and in the popular assembly he be able on occasion to make use of clear presentation and convincing argument. We must remember that in the ancient city-state every male citizen who had come to manhood was expected to sit in the assembly and to cast his vote. Hence arose at once an opportunity and a danger—the opportunity of taking part in the discussion of matters of the highest moment: the danger of losing sight oneself, or of leading others to lose sight of the principles at issue under the influence of the dangerous "art of words." For we moderns must be careful not to forget the tremendous influence exerted in antiquity by the spoken, as contrasted with the written word. There was indeed no reading public in Athens until toward the end of the fifth century B. C., and Euripides (born, tradition says, in 480) was the first of the Greeks known to possess a library. The Epic was recited, or chanted, not read; lyric poems were published by being sung; and the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were not only written for the stage—and that by men who knew the stage,—but their appeal was to the eye and to the ear; it was not until a later age that they were studied as writings. So, too, we even read that Herodotus and Thucydides published their histories by reading them aloud before great concourses of people—as at the Olympic festival;—and philosophic enquiry was carried on by the living voice in question and answer. In a striking passage[2] Plato vividly characterizes the impotence of the written word which can only reiterate the same thing, and can neither refute another nor accept correction, and contrasts this with the living word of knowledge "graven in the soul of him who has learned."

Only as we have due regard to these facts can we realize the achievement of Greece in triumphing over the dangers which menaced the development of prose style—especially of oratorical prose—in the earlier period. With the *moral* dangers growing out of the possession of such an instrument in an age when the laws of logical thought had not yet been formulated, we are not now concerned; but we must consider the insidious dangers menacing the development of prose style. The speaker, fully conscious of the power of his new-found instrument and joying in it, was open to the temptation to play with its subtleties, and to seek to dazzle his listeners by the mere charm of words. For the public before which he spoke felt to the full the charm of gracious speech, and listened to it as to music. Yet even here the Greek instinct for truth and fitness manifested itself, and triumphed. In the earlier orators we see clearly what the dangers were; yet in Demosthenes, the greatest master of eloquence among the Greeks, we find a style, throbbing indeed with passion, yet everywhere illustrating the severe self-restraint and the avoidance of exaggeration or of ornateness, which are the controlling principles of Greek art in every field.

A glance at the literature of the Greeks, then, reminds us that we can trace among them as among no other people the development of the basic literary forms in prose and in verse, and can furthermore see how these forms stand in organic relationship to one another and to the life of the people among whom they arose. These literary forms are a part of our inheritance from Greece. But once more stress should be laid upon the fact that our debt to the Greeks is primarily a spiritual debt; not one that can be measured in terms of an itemized balance-sheet. Yet it is because Greek literature preserves for us these spiritual qualities that it will always be studied, and despite the apparent decline in classical studies, is actually being studied today perhaps with more adequate understanding than ever before. To read it with an open mind even in the far-off medium of translation into another tongue; to lend oneself to the spell of its perfection of form, its sanity, its strength; this is to rise above the materialism of the

present, and to gain the power of looking upon the facts of experience with fearless eyes and an untroubled mind, and to know the abiding joy of living in the light of reason, of truth, and of beauty. And who will say that our age does not stand in need of precisely such an experience?

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x Herodotus VII, p. 135.
y Politicus 278 D.
z Phædrus 275 D.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

THE year 431 B. C. saw the outbreak of a great civil war in Hellas that lasted, with some interruptions, twenty-seven years. The incident that precipitated it—the interference of Athens with a colony of Corinth—was of comparatively small importance. The causes which had for years signaled its inevitable approach were vital. To estimate them truly it is essential that we realize how important the city-state was to the ancient Greeks and how little they desired a compact nation, such as ours.

"Let us, therefore, try to form a concrete impression of the salient features of the hundreds of little states with which the progressive parts of Greece were honeycombed at the beginning of the classic period, in the sixth century B. C. Each political cell, so to speak, had its nucleus in a walled town and its substance in a small circuit of grain, pasture, and garden land which the inhabitants of the town owned and cultivated. Most of the towns were simply hives of farmers. Whether the farmers were landlords, small proprietors, or peasants; however much they were divided by lines of social cleavage, they were all able to meet on the common ground of a single occupation. And every day from March to November, from the outcropping of the grass and foliage in the spring, through the season of the grain harvest, the vintage, and the picking of the olives, to the fall planting and seeding, the ebb and flow of agricultural life carried the population of the city to the country in the morning and back to the city again in the evening. . . .

"It is true that with the Greek occupation of the coasts of the Mediterranean and Black Seas in the seventh century B. C. some Greek towns like Miletus, Samos, Corinth and Eretria became cities in the modern sense of the term, with commercial and industrial interests predominant. But even there the advantages of urban life were within reach

of the farmers, as well as of the traders, artisans, and merchants, since all alike were residents of the city. The only difference was that life in those cities was more rich and diversified than elsewhere. . . .

"The truth is that cities meant to all the Greeks what (and much besides) the city and the nation combined mean to those of us who do not live in the country. They were the source and object at once of municipal and national pride. The problems which city-states had to consider and solve were not simply those in which good citizens find it so hard nowadays to develop a wholesome interest. Questions of police, education, public works, appointments; conflicts of racial, sectional, class and religious ambitions; rivalries with neighboring cities for commercial, political and cultural leadership—controversies of this order are common to all cities in all times and places. But the politics of the Greek cities had a high seriousness of their own. Each town had its own foreign policy to determine, its army to train and direct, its own church to equip with shrines and deities, its own gods to honor with games and tragedies. Every move on the complex chessboard of the Mediterranean world might be pregnant with meaning to it. On one day it might decide that the time had come to seize some borderland in dispute with its immediate neighbors. On another it might conclude an alliance which imposed the obligation to wage a great war against frightful odds. On another the subject of voting might be recognition of a new god or goddess, which, in fact, was often tantamount to a new creation. And in considering all these matters citizens were simply doing what their fathers and forefathers had done from time immemorial. 'Love thou thy land with love far-brought from out the storied past' was an admonition of which Greek cities of the classic epoch stood in little need. The mischief was that the land which they loved was not all Greece but merely the territory of a single town."[11]

Since the city-state filled the place of both municipality and nation of modern times, it must further be noted that two general divisions had arisen in Hellas: Sparta, with her doctrine that the will of the individual must be sub-

servient to the state; with her invariable concern for the few and slight regard for the many of her inhabitants; her unalterable sympathy with aristocratic government. Since her army was invincible upon land, many of the Peloponnesian states had joined the League of which she was the head for the protection such an alliance afforded. Secondly, Athens, whose policy was the reverse of Sparta's; the state serving the welfare of the individual; democratic government, with emphasis placed upon education and culture. Since the rise of the Confederacy of Delos to importance, with Athens as leader, a powerful navy had been created, and many of the islands and coast towns paid tribute to Athens for the protection of their commerce on the seas.

Sparta had viewed with alarm the rapid rise of Athens to power and many a little city-state turned to her for support lest either it be compelled to lose some degree of independence by joining the Delian League or find its commerce hampered for failure to do so. Such high-handed action as that of forcing Naxos to remain in the Confederacy only served to further alarm other of the insular towns that longed to be free from the yearly tribute—Persia coming no more to threaten their freedom or their trade.

For years it had been generally understood that some day these two Greek powers must measure swords. Nor is it doubted that Pericles had, by secretly paying sums of money to Spartan leaders, delayed the issue until such time as Athens should be fully prepared.

When in 431 B. C. a quarrel arose with Corinth because Athens espoused the cause of her colony at Corcyra, the Corinthians urged Sparta to make this the occasion for declaring war on Athens and checking further the advance of her northern rival.

It so happens that an Athenian citizen, Thucydides, wrote a history of this protracted struggle, which remains the main source of information regarding it. His history is one of the great legacies which have come down to us, not only for his careful investigation of all facts recorded but because the work bears the stamp of Greek moderation and clear expression. He was himself a general but because of some military failure the Athenians exiled him. He trav-

eled from place to place, gathering material for his book, the motive actuating him best set forth in his own words:

"Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war in which the Peloponnesians and the Athenians fought against one another. He began to write when they first took up arms, believing that it would be great and memorable above any previous war. For he argued that both states were then at the full height of their military power, and he saw the rest of the Hellenes either siding or intending to side with one or other of them. No movement ever stirred Hellas more deeply than this; it was shared by many of the Barbarians, and might be said even to affect the world at large."[2]

Pericles, the great leader of Athens, was now advanced in years. He felt that this impending struggle would best come while the navy was in full strength and he could himself guide his fellow citizens. For this reason he counseled the people to make no concessions to Sparta at this time but to trust in their general prosperity, their splendid navy and in their vigor.

The Corinthians realized that they could not expect the Spartans to take arms merely because of their resentment aroused by late actions of Athens, so they appealed to them as the champions of freedom in Hellas, reproaching them that they had permitted Athens to become powerful enough to menace the independence of the small states.

" 'Time after time we have warned you of the mischief which the Athenians would do to us, but instead of taking our words to heart, you chose to suspect that we spoke only from interested motives. . . . If the crimes which they are committing against Hellas were being done in a corner, then you might be ignorant, and we should have to inform you of them; but now, what need of many words?

" 'And the blame of all this rests on you; for you originally allowed them to fortify their city after the Persian War, and afterwards to build their Long Walls; and to this hour you have gone on defrauding of liberty their unfortunate subjects, and are now beginning to take it away from your own allies. For the true enslaver of a people is he who

can put an end to their slavery but has no care about it; and all the more if he be reputed the champion of liberty in Hellas.' "[3]

The speaker thereupon reproaches the Spartans for their habitual slowness to act, calling to mind the time that "the Persian made his way from the ends of the earth" before they got actually on the march to restrain him. We learn much of the civilization of which Athens was so proud and of the qualities of her citizens from the speech of this Corinthian envoy who presented the notion of immediate war before the Spartans on this occasion:

" 'And you have never considered what manner of men are these Athenians with whom you will have to fight, and how utterly unlike yourselves. They are revolutionary, equally quick in the conception and in the execution of every new plan; while you are conservative—careful only to keep what you have, originating nothing and not acting even when action is most urgent. They are bold beyond their strength; they run risks which prudence would condemn; and in the midst of misfortune they are full of hope. Whereas it is your nature, though strong, to act feebly; when your plans are most prudent, to distrust them; and when calamities come upon you to think you will never be delivered from them. They are impetuous, and you are dilatory; they are always abroad, and you are always at home. For they hope to gain something by leaving their homes; but you are afraid that any new enterprise may imperil what you have already. When conquerors, they pursue their victory to the utmost; when defeated, they fall back the least. Their bodies they devote to their country as though they belonged to other men; their true self is their mind, which is most truly their own when employed in her service. . . . To do their duty is their only holiday, and they deem the quiet of inaction to be as disagreeable as the most tiresome business. If a man should say of them, in a word, that they are born neither to have peace themselves nor to allow peace to other men, he would simply speak the truth.' "[4]

Thucydides was not present at this meeting, but later had report from one who was there. He explained how he

obtained such speeches and to what extent we may regard them as genuine:

"As to the speeches which were made either before or during the war, it was hard for me, and for others who reported them to me, to recollect the exact words. I have therefore put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavored, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said."[5]

It is impossible for one today to retell this story in any way which approaches that of Thucydides, and did space and time permit, his complete history might well be here reproduced. As it is, only such citations can be made as enable us to follow along the barest outline of the dramatic events. Pericles explained to the Athenians how they might prosecute the war to a successful issue: first, they were to avoid land battles, confining their military operations to the sea. Secondly, all who dwelt in country and village were to take refuge three months yearly within the Long Walls and not attempt to restrain the Spartans from laying waste their fields as they were bound to do, while their own navy the while would be harrying the Peloponnesian coast and closing their ports to commerce. In time they would wear out their opponents and win the victory.

" 'That our resources are equal to theirs and that we shall be as strong in the war, I will now prove to you in detail. The Peloponnesians cultivate their own lands and they have no wealth either public or private. Nor have they any experience of long wars in countries beyond the sea. . . . Now wars are supported out of accumulated wealth, and not out of forced contributions. . . . In a single pitched battle the Peloponnesians and their allies are a match for all Hellas, but they are not able to maintain a war against a power different in kind from their own; they have no regular general assembly and therefore cannot execute their plans with speed and decision. . . .

" 'Their greatest difficulty will be want of money, which they can only provide slowly; delay will thus occur, and wars wait for no man. . . .

" 'We have gained more experience of fighting on land from warfare at sea than they of naval affairs from warfare on land. And they will not easily acquire the art of seamanship; even you yourselves, who have been practising ever since the Persian Wars, are not yet perfect. How can they, who are not sailors but tillers of the soil, do much? . . . If they attack our country by land, we shall attack theirs by sea; and the devastation, even of part of Peloponnesus, will be a very different thing from that of all Attica. . . .

" 'I have many more reasons for believing that you will conquer, *but you must not be extending your empire while you are at war, or run into unnecessary dangers. I am more afraid of our own mistakes than of our enemies' designs.* . . . Remember that where dangers are greatest, there the greatest honours are to be won by men and states. Our fathers, when they withstood the Persians, had no such power as we have; what little they had they forsook. We must be worthy of them, and resist our enemies to the utmost, that we may hand down our empire unimpaired to posterity.' Such were the words of Pericles.'"[6]

Significant words indeed, in view of the outcome of the war. Had only the people remembered them, fraught as they were with true statesmanlike foresight, Athenian history might have taken quite a different course.

The first year of the struggle followed as Pericles had indicated. The people outside of Athens came with such of their belongings as they could carry inside the Long Walls. The Athenian fleet ravaged the Peloponnesian coast and the Spartan army burned the country districts of Attica. The people complained bitterly that Pericles held them idle while the enemy wasted their lands.

At the close of the year's fighting a memorial service was held for the soldiers who had fallen in battle. This was always customary among the Athenians in time of war, a special burial ground for soldiers being just outside of Dipylon Gate. Pericles was the orator of the day and, in his famous speech,[z] he took occasion to recall to those who had gathered to show respect for the fallen, the greatness of the city for which these men had sacrificed their lives.

Under similar circumstances Lincoln spoke to sorrowing relatives and friends at Gettysburg: "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here but it can never forget what they did here." Twenty-two hundred years earlier Pericles had said: "For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men. Not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men."

Due to utter lack of sanitation, to overcrowding and underhousing of so many inside the city walls, a plague carried from Africa by ship to the Peiræus spread rapidly. Remembering the alarm occasioned by the Spanish influenza at the close of the late war and the fatalities attending it, we can easily understand the consternation felt when this epidemic broke out in Athens. However, in that city the situation was far more acute; many lived in temporary shacks; it was impossible to give them attention, so many being stricken; and those who tried to aid the sufferers immediately contracted the disease. This, together with the impaired condition of those who survived at all, brought about a predicament worse than the war itself.

"No constitution was of itself strong enough to resist or weak enough to escape the attacks; the disease carried off all alike and defied every mode of treatment. Most appalling was the despondency which seized upon any one who felt himself sickening; for he instantly abandoned his mind to despair and, instead of holding out, absolutely threw away his chance of life. . . . The crowding of the people out of the country into the city aggravated the misery; and the newly arrived suffered most. For, having no houses of their own, but inhabiting in the height of summer stifling huts, the mortality among them was dreadful, and they perished in wild disorder." Thucydides goes on to tell of the license that ensued, such an abnormal condition of affairs allowing the unruly and uncontrolled to give way to their weaknesses, for, as the historian naïvely puts it: "Who would be willing to sacrifice himself to the law of honour when he knew not whether he would ever live to be held in honour?"

For several years this epidemic made repeated visits and it was natural that with so many afflictions, the people murmured openly against Pericles, by whose counsel they had entered upon the war. Thereupon he convened the Assembly and addressed them, by his own resolution calming their worst fears and reviving their hopes.

"'I am the same man and stand where I did. But you are changed; for you have been driven by misfortune to recall the consent which you gave when you were yet unhurt, and to think that my advice was wrong because your own characters are weak. The pain is present and comes home to each of you, but the good is yet unrealized by any one; and your minds have not the strength to persevere in your resolution, now that a great reverse has overtaken you unawares. Anything which is sudden and unexpected and utterly beyond calculation, such a disaster for instance as this plague coming upon other misfortunes, enthralls the spirit of a man. Nevertheless, being the citizens of a great city and educated in a temper of greatness, you should not succumb to calamities however overwhelming, or darken the lustre of your fame. . . . You should lose the sense of your private sorrows and cling to the deliverance of the state.

"'As to your sufferings in the war, if you fear that they may be very great and after all fruitless, I have shown you already over and over again that such a fear is groundless. If you are still unsatisfied I will indicate one element of your superiority which appears to have escaped you, although it nearly touches your imperial greatness. I too have never mentioned it before, nor would I now, because the claim may seem too arrogant, if I did not see you are unreasonably depressed. You think that your empire is confined to your allies, but I say that of the two divisions of the world accessible to man, the land and the sea, there is one of which you are absolute masters and have, or may have, the dominion to any extent which you please. Neither the Great King nor any nation on earth can hinder a navy like yours from penetrating whithersoever you choose to sail. . . .

"'What if the enemy has come and done what he was

certain to do when you refused to yield? What too if the plague followed? That was an unexpected blow but we might have foreseen all the rest. I am well aware that your hatred of me is aggravated by it. But how unjustly, unless to me also you ascribe the credit of any extraordinary success which may befall you! The visitations of heaven should be borne with resignation, the sufferings inflicted by an enemy with manliness. This has always been the spirit of Athens, and should not die out in you.' "[8]

Words such as these were bound to hearten those who heard them. Accordingly the Athenians were again cheered to hope and courage. Unhappily for them, the plague now took its utmost price and inflicted upon the state the heaviest possible blow when Pericles became its victim. How utterly their welfare had rested upon him is indicated in the few words with which Thucydides dismisses him: "After his death his foresight was even better appreciated than during his life. . . . When he saw them unseasonably elated and arrogant, his words humbled and awed them; and, when they were depressed by groundless fears, he sought to reanimate their confidence. *Thus Athens, though still in name a democracy, was in fact ruled by her greatest citizen.*"[9]

Thereafter their leaders were far more desirous of defeating their political opponents than of adhering to a definite policy. They were of the rank and file and history had still to show that, regardless of theories, men of such calibre could direct an imperiled ship of state to a safe haven. Suffice it to say that in 421 B. C. the first period of the war terminated in the so-called Peace of Nicias, whereby the status of the two powers was left where it had been when the war broke out.

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[1] Ferguson: *Greek Imperialism*, 9; 17. Excellent for a discussion of the Athenian Empire.
[2] Jowett's Trans. Thucydides, Book I, 1.
[3] Jowett's Trans. Thucydides, Book I.
[4] Jowett's Trans. Thucydides, Book I, 47.
[5] Jowett's Trans. Thucydides, Book I, 16.
[6] Jowett's Trans. Thucydides, Book I, 97ff.
[7] Jowett's Trans. Thucydides, Book II, 138.
[8] Jowett's Trans. Thucydides, Book II, 144.
[9] Jowett's Trans. Thucydides, Book II, 149.
[x] See Part III, p. 674.

LOSS OF ATHENIAN LEADERSHIP

THE Peace of Nicias had satisfied neither side but the people as a whole were wearied by the long strife. Sparta had gained little by repeatedly laying waste Attica. Her own coast had been ravaged in turn and her commerce destroyed.*

Athens had expended much of her reserve fund, which had given Pericles such assurance. This amounted to approximately six million dollars; also, her annual tribute from the Delian allies had yielded about seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars before the war but shrunk rapidly after it began. The treaty stipulated that it was made for fifty years; while neither side held to its terms, neither invaded the territory of the other for seven years. While peace lasted it was a matter of great joy to the people, particularly to those who could return in safety to their country homes secure from further raids. In *The Suppliants* we may feel sure that Euripides expressed sentiments that must have fallen true on every listening ear:

"For when whole cities by their votes decide
In favor of a war, there's not a man
Expects to perish; all avert the doom
Which threatens their own, upon another's head.
But while they give their suffrages, if death
Were present to their eyes, Greece ne'er had owed
Its ruin to a frantic lust for war.
We all know how to choose the better part,
Distinguish good from ill, and are aware
That peace, the benefactress of mankind,
Is preferable to war; by every Muse
Held justly dear, and to the fiends of hell
A foe; in population she delights;
And wealth abundant. But, these blessings slighting,
We wickedly embark in needless wars."

Athens had been unfortunate in her leaders after the death of Pericles but she was now led on to certain ruin by Alcibiades, a popular young nobleman of somewhat reckless character. His physical charm and lavish display of wealth won him numerous friends and even his lawlessness was condoned by the people because of his brilliancy. He conceived that his chance of distinguishing himself was greater in time of war than during years of peace so he set systematically to work to violate the truce. Hyperbolus was leader of the democratic party and, desiring to exile this dangerous young man, he called for a vote of ostracism in 417 B. C. To his astonishment this resulted in his own banishment. This is remembered as the last time this strange custom obtained in Athens. When only two leaders presented themselves it had supplied a way of being free from the less popular; when more were to be reckoned with, it was inadequate. Nicias was leader of the peace party; Hyperbolus of the democratic, and Alcibiades, eager to renew the war, surrounded himself with all who were desirous of undertaking ventures designed to increase the empire.

In 416 B. C. the hostilities were again precipitated by the attack of the Athenian fleet upon the island of Melos—a colony of Sparta. Since the island was in the Ægean Sea and the Delian Confederacy was protecting this water, there was some ground for requesting Melos to resume her membership in the Confederacy, which she had long ago abandoned. Upon her refusal, her men were put to death and her women and children sold into slavery. Many a thoughtful Athenian realized that his city had been led astray when such a wanton deed could be perpetrated by her leaders and many who had formerly sided with the Confederacy of Delos were aghast at the shameless act. With much reason they turned to Sparta as their hope against the imperial greed of the northern state.

Segesta in Sicily now asked the aid of the Athenian fleet against Silenus, agreeing to pay all expenses. Heretofore the different Greek factions in the island had generally settled their differences among themselves, despite the brief interference of Athens in 425 B. C. Nicias urged the Athenians by no means to attempt at this time to add Sicily

to their empire. "Sicily is a populous and distant country, over which, if we are victorious, we shall hardly be able to maintain our dominion. And how foolish to attack a land which no conquest can secure, while he who fails to conquer will not be where he was before. . . . We must remember that we have only just recovered in some measure from a great plague and a great war and are beginning to make up our losses in men and money. . . . The Sicilians have their own country. Let them manage their own concerns. Let us have no more allies such as ours have too often been, whom we are expected to assist when they are in misfortune, but to whom we ourselves when in need may look in vain.'"[1] He reminded the people that they had plenty of enemies near at hand; that they were at the moment at war in some quarters. But his sane advice fell on deaf ears. Alcibiades, self-seeking as ever, was able to win more attention than the older, more experienced general. To the chagrin of Nicias, the people appointed both him and Alcibiades to undertake the Sicilian campaign, expecting to conquer the rich island and reap great benefit from the annexation of Sicily to their empire.

The story of the Sicilian Expedition is one of the sorriest tales in history. The Athenians were astir with many preparations; never had they entered upon a project with keener expectations. Nicias ever strove to restrain the lavish expenditure; Alcibiades, with fair words and promises, incited them to make this a splendid and imposing occasion. One hundred and thirty-four triremes were voted to transport five thousand fighting men.

"On the fleet the greatest pains and expense had been lavished by the trierarchs[2] and the State. The public treasury gave a drachma a day to each sailor, and furnished empty hulls for sixty swift sailing vessels, and for forty transports carrying hoplites. All these ships were manned with the best crews which could be obtained. The trierarchs, besides the pay given by the State, added somewhat more from their own means to the wages of the upper ranks of rowers and of the petty officers. The figureheads and other fittings provided by them were of the most costly description. Every one strove to the utmost that his own ship

might excel both in beauty and swiftness. The infantry had been well selected and the lists carefully made up. There was the keenest rivalry among the soldiers in the matter of arms and personal equipment.

"While at home the Athenians were thus competing with one another in the performance of their several duties, to the rest of Hellas the expedition seemed to be a grand display of their power and greatness, rather than a preparation for war. . . . Men were amazed with the boldness of the scheme and the magnificence of the spectacle, which were everywhere spoken of, no less than at the great disproportion of the force when compared with that of the enemy against whom it was intended. Never had a greater expedition been sent to a foreign land; never was there an enterprise in which the hope of future success seemed to be better justified by actual power."[2]

The fleet was ready to sail in 415 B. C. Shortly before it departed it was found one morning in Athens that the Hermæ, square stone pillars bearing the head of Hermes and regarded as the guardians of law and order, had been disfigured and partially destroyed. The old belief in the potency of their gods was strong in the hearts of the masses and they looked upon this sacrilege with consternation. Evidently this had been the work of intoxicated young men, ready for any deed of daring. Evidence pointed to Alcibiades and his followers but realizing his popularity with the navy, he was permitted to sail with the fleet.

"When the ships were manned and everything required for the voyage had been placed on board, silence was proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet, and all with one voice before setting sail offered up the customary prayers; these were recited, not in each ship, but by a single herald, the whole fleet accompanying him. On every deck both officers and men made libations of wine from vessels of gold and silver. The multitude of citizens and other well-wishers who were looking on from the land joined in the prayer. The crews raised the pæan, and when the libations were completed, put to sea. After sailing out for some distance in single file, the ships raced one another as far as Ægina."[3]

When they were well gone, an official trireme was sent out to overtake the fleet and bring Alcibiades home to answer to the charge of sacrilege but he made his escape to Sparta, where he forthwith used his talents to assist Spartan foes to overthrow his own country.

The fleet that set sail under such spectacular conditions was ill-fated from the first. The generals were not agreed as to the course they would pursue and a year was wasted in slight endeavor. They besieged Syracuse but Nicias was not a vigorous commander and by 414 B. C. the spirits of the soldiers and sailors needed a stout and confident leader —which Nicias was by no means. In despair he sent word to Athens that he must be reënforced or return. Far from realizing the true situation, his countrymen voted him heavy reënforcements.

It is soon told, the story of how the fleet of Syracuse defeated them in a naval engagement, then locked them in the bay and destroyed their ships, compelling them to retreat by land, where they were presently overtaken by Sicilian forces and imprisoned. Seven thousand of them were confined in an old stone quarry, dead, wounded and living herded in like cattle. Those who survived the terrible thirst and privations lost their identity in slavery.

When the dire news reached Athens that her two great fleets had been destroyed, for some time the report was not credited. The people were stunned. So greatly had they counted upon a brilliant conquest that they could not easily adjust their ideas to accept defeat. Then, with characteristic impetuosity, they turned against those who had counseled the undertaking. The calm of Thucydides does not conceal his deep feeling:

"Of all the Hellenic actions which took place in this war, or indeed of all Hellenic actions which are on record, this was the greatest—the most glorious to the victors, the most ruinous to the vanquished; for they were utterly and at all points defeated, and their sufferings were prodigious. Fleet and army perished from the face of the earth; nothing was saved, and of the many who went forth, few returned home.

"Thus ended the Sicilian expedition."[4]

Even so, the struggle lasted eight years longer. When they had at last sensed the full meaning of this signal defeat, the Athenians brought forth their reserves, set aside for the direst emergency, and built a new fleet. They well knew that all their foes would shortly be upon them—for their great misfortune at Syracuse was hailed with delight on the part of Sparta and her allies. Alcibiades by this time, having fallen out with Spartan leaders, sojourned at the court of Persia; now the Great King offered money to the Spartans to aid them against Athens on condition that the Greek cities in Asia Minor would be restored to him.

Those in Athens who had always distrusted popular government were wholly convinced now that the fortunes of state could not be safely left to the people. A change was instituted whereby a Committee of Public Safety was established to prepare the programs for the Assembly, to assume charge of the treasury and to build and equip the fleet. A customs duty of five per cent on imports and exports was levied to replace the lost tribute.

The "Four Hundred," an oligarchal faction, seized the government, set aside the constitution and ruled by terror, resorting to murder and assassination to achieve their ends. Alcibiades now plotted to return to Athens and actually gained control of the Athenian army, winning some victories. Sparta offered to make peace, each side to retain its former possessions but this the Athenians foolishly refused. Finally came the final naval engagement, when the united fleet of the Peloponnesians routed the Athenian navy and forced them within their walls. Corinth and Thebes urged Sparta to destroy Athens and enslave her population, but this the Spartans refused to do, pointing out the part she had taken in saving Hellas from Persia. Instead, the Long Walls were torn down; the Athenian fleet destroyed except for twelve ships; and Athens compelled to acknowledge the leadership of Sparta "in peace and war, leaving to her the choice of friends and foes, and following her lead by land and sea."

Thus, after a war which with some interruptions had lasted from 431 B. C. to 404 B. C., the era of Athenian

supremacy came to an end, and with it the brilliant period of Hellenic history. Well might Thucydides reflect that the Athenians had done everything that Pericles warned them not to do; that great leader saw aright when he realized that their own mistakes were far more to be feared than the actions of the enemy.

It is impossible even today to review the events of this long struggle for leadership in ancient Greece without dismay at the blunders of the Athenians. Because we have so much in common with them, it is idle to attempt to view the situation impartially. We rejoice in the fine civilization of Athens, with her high conceptions of equality and justice; and we mourn with her when it befell that she must yield to Sparta. This does not blind us to the faults of the Athenians, which were not a few. Neither does it mean that we find justification for their imperial greed. Seventy-five years were too few in which to learn to be a generous leader of other states. They were too long to hold undimmed the high ideals of freedom which actuated this little state after the victory over Persia. Small wonder is it that for ages the fate of Athens furnished strong support to the argument that the people could not be entrusted with the public weal. Yet the example of an ancient democracy was destined never to be forgotten.

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*We speak of the Peloponnesus as a whole when we mention Sparta, she being leader of the Peloponnesian League.

[1] Jowett's Trans. Thucydides, Book IV, p. 14.

[2] Jowett's Trans. Thucydides, Book VI, p. 3.

[3] Jowett's Trans. Thucydides, Book VI, p. 32.

[4] Jowett's Trans. Thucydides, Book VII, p. 87.

x Commander of a trireme.

SPARTAN LEADERSHIP; THEBES

AFTER nearly thirty years of intermittent warfare, Athens had yielded—her walls being demolished amid jubilant demonstrations of the Spartans. It was expected that the states liberated from their unwilling membership in the Delian Confederacy would now be free to follow their own desires. But this hope was short-lived. Immediately Sparta sent to each a military officer, known as a *harmost,* and a garrison. An oligarchal government was uniformly established under the supervision of a Board of Ten and any objection on the part of states so invaded was silenced by a ready army. Thus it was soon plain that while Sparta had posed for thirty years as champion of Hellenic liberty, she intended to preserve the empire, only substituting her leadership for that of Athens.

We can only follow briefly the course of events in Athens. In a public assembly it was proposed by an oligarchal sympathizer that thirty citizens be chosen to revise the constitution. When a burst of protest met this demand, Lysander, the Spartan general to whom Athens had capitulated, appeared before the meeting and reminded the Athenians that they were wholly in his power. Thereupon some left the meeting, and without further opposition thirty men—some of them returned exiles, all of them belonging to the oligarchal party—were chosen to remodel the Athenian constitution. Instead of doing so, however, they suspended all popular meetings, courts and institutions, substituting their own rule for that of the people. Having brought control into their own hands, they began to arrest leaders of the democracy; next, wealthy democrats, whose possessions were craved by impoverished oligarchal supporters. To satisfy the latter, prominent democrats were put to death without trial.

Soon occurred what is known as the "disarming of the citizens." All Athenians were commanded to gather at

various places in the city on a specified day, in full armour. Three thousand who were approved as staunch friends of Spartan rule were allowed to retain their weapons; the arms of the rest were confiscated and the stores in the Acropolis placed under guard.

Elated with their success, the Thirty, known as the Thirty Tyrants, decreed that none but the three thousand approved citizens could longer live in Athens—the remainder being compelled to seek homes elsewhere. Such extreme measures were bound to be followed by a corresponding reaction. Other cities were suffering from the high-handed rule of Lysander. Thebes, the old enemy of Athens, was one of these, and offered to receive the Athenian exiles who now thronged out of the city.

Soon after, a little company of these men sallied forth from Thebes and took possession of a dismantled fort in Attica. Here they were joined by other loyal friends. Presently they felt strong enough to seize the harbor of Piræus. In a battle fought in the streets of the city the democratic adherents defeated the oligarchal faction. These in turn were obliged to flee and called loudly to Sparta for aid. Lysander was no longer in favor, even at home; and King Pausanias was sent to settle Athenian difficulties. He was a broad-minded Greek who hated tyranny. Under his protection the Athenians re-established their constitution in September, 403 B. C., and once again a democracy ruled in Athens.

It is now necessary to turn to developments in western Asia.

Upon the death of Darius, in 404 B. C., his oldest son, Artaxerxes, ascended the Persian throne. A younger son, known as Cyrus the Younger, desired the throne for himself, and to this end stirred up the citizens of Asia Minor and Greece to aid him. Eleven thousand Greeks were organized under his command and marched with him to meet King Artaxerxes. At the battle of Cunaxa, near the site of ancient Babylon, Cyrus was killed and his Greek army left without a commander in a hostile country.

At this juncture Xenophon, an Athenian, came forward from the ranks and offered to lead the army home. After

many experiences they finally reached the sea. Xenophon has left us an account of this famous Retreat of the Ten Thousand in his *Anabasis.*

The immediate result of Greek interference in this case was to bring on war between Sparta and Persia. It was natural that Artaxerxes should revenge himself for the direct attack against him on the part of cities recently ceded to him by Sparta. In the war that followed, Persia sought an alliance with Athens, which state now found herself arrayed against her ancient enemy, Sparta.

Conon, the Athenian commander, defeated the Spartan fleet in a battle fought in 394 B. C. at Cnidus. This victory gave Athens once more supremacy upon the seas. The next year Conon rebuilt the Long Walls at Athens, and many of the old allies, displeased with Sparta's policy, voluntarily returned to the protection of Athens.

After several years of fighting, some of the Greek states urged Artaxerxes to restore peace in Hellas. In 386 B. C., therefore, the "King's Peace" was made. It stipulated that: "King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia Minor and the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus shall belong to him. Further, that all the other Greek cities, small and great, shall be independent, except Lemos, Inbros, and Scyros, which are to belong to Athens as of old.

"Should any refuse to accept this peace, I, Artaxerxes, will make war on them, with the help of those who are of my mind, both by land and sea, with ships and with money."

So it was the irony of fate that the Greeks that had repulsed Persia and driven her from Europe and Western Asia, clearing the seas of her triremes, now submitted to a peace dictated by the Great King.

However, the invasion of the Greeks under Cyrus, when they had penetrated as far east as the Euphrates, had shown that Persia was by no means as strong as they had previously supposed. From this time forward there were those in Athens who advocated that they should send forces into Asia and subdue her in her own territory. This was not undertaken until the great Alexander set out on his memorable conquest.

Thebes took no enviable part in the early affairs of

Hellas. When the Persian king invaded the land and threatened the freedom of all Hellas, Thebes welcomed him and espoused his cause. Later she pursued a course with Platæa, a town in her own state, which drove the Platæans to cast in their fortunes with Athens. On the eve of the Peloponnesian war, when Athenian and Spartan allies were but waiting a signal to strike, it was Thebes that made a midnight raid on Platæa and precipitated the struggle. Her usual policy might be characterized as narrow and short-sighted; often ungenerous in her own affairs, and never loyal to the cause of Hellas and Hellenic nationality.

Sparta, it is true, was selfish, yet Sparta was not lacking in fidelity to the state. In face of a common foe, Sparta could forget her personal enmities and fight for the cause of Hellas. Thebes failed even to do this. Only during one period did she come to greatness, and that was under the inspiration of two strong and vigorous men—one, a statesman; the other, a general.

A patriotic party grew up in Thebes during the early part of the fourth century B. C. Sparta's policy with the states of Greece after the Peloponnesian war was such as to rouse whatever patriotic feeling there might be in the land. There was enmity between Thebes and Sparta, and in 382 B. C., while a Spartan army was on its way north, it was learned that the citadel of Thebes was left temporarily unguarded during a religious festival. This information coming to the Spartan general, he seized the citadel before the citizens were aware of any danger. The attack was wholly unwarranted and provoked intense hatred of the southern state. However, a Spartan garrison was stationed in Thebes and for two or three years Spartan rule was maintained within the city.

Some of the prominent men left the town when it fell under Laconian control, and these formed a nucleus for fugitive Thebans, rallying with a hope of regaining their freedom. In 379 B. C. a counter attack was made upon the garrison while the officers were entertained at a banquet. Theban rule was restored and, naturally, war followed with Sparta.

At this particular time Thebes was fortunate in having

a clear-headed statesman, Epaminondas. He was comparable to Pericles in personal character and noble qualities, being the noblest man who ever became prominent in Thebes, so far as records enable us to judge. At the same time Pelopidas, an efficient general, appeared. Strange to relate, these two men were able to agree upon a plan for the state and to carry it out harmoniously.

Sparta was ill-prepared to make war at this time; signs of weakness were already visible in her state. The number of Spartans had been greatly diminished during the past fifty years, and the old time vigor of the state had largely spent itself.

In the battle of Leuctra, Sparta was defeated. This gave opportunity for a Theban army to march upon the very frontiers of Sparta—something no army had thus far dared to do.

Athens had worked with Thebes against Sparta so long as Sparta continued to be the stronger state. Now when Thebes asserted herself and threatened the very freedom of Laconia, Athens could no longer afford to remain indifferent to the rising state. She herself had hopes of re-establishing her earlier empire and it would not do to have a rival state in her own vicinity. Thus Athens and Thebes came into direct conflict. Within a few years Thebes cleared the seas of Athenian vessels and proved herself supreme on land as well. Nevertheless, Theban greatness was possible only under powerful leadership and when one leader fell first, and soon the other, Thebes was compelled to make peace, and the years of her pride were gone.

In speaking of the failure of Thebes to produce a united Greece, one writer says: "The supremacy of Thebes had failed to create a national state for Greece, just as the supremacy of Sparta and that of Athens had failed before. The Greeks had, it is true, been able to develop a city-state with local self-government, far in advance of the oriental system of government. But they did not possess the capacity to organize their cities into a single state, based upon their common community. Their various leagues failed, because under the predominance of one city the rights of the others were disregarded. Athens had ruled with despotic author-

ity over her subjects. With all their love of liberty springing from their own self-interests, the Greeks failed to recognize that other essential principle of good government, the respect for a higher law based upon the common welfare."

DANGER FROM THE NORTH

MACEDONIA originally embraced a somewhat indefinite territory north of Thessaly and Epirus. It fell naturally into five divisions: the basins of three large rivers which took their rise in the mountains on the west, and found their final outlet to the sea through a well-nigh common mouth; an alluvial plain formed by the lower course of these rivers; and lastly, a central plain, surrounded by mountains and accessible only through certain mountain passes.

Mountain ranges traversed the land, and made communication with Greece easier than with the various districts of Macedonia itself. The eastern portion of the country was essentially a lowland; the western portion made up wholly of mountain ranges. Civilization as a matter of course followed the nature of the land. Sturdy mountain tribes established themselves in the west; the broadening influences of open communication were evident in the east.

At the dawn of history the country was populated by Pelasgians who may have migrated thence from Asia Minor. In course of time Hellenic clans penetrated north and made homes in the region. The later Macedonians were the descendants of these two mingled races, and the Hellenes called them by the name which they gave to all foreigners—*barbarians.*

While the Greek states passed through cycles of oligarchies, democracies, and tyrannies, Macedonia continued under a government similar to that of Homeric Greece. Each tribe was ruled by a chief, who was advised by the elders and influenced in matters of common concern by the will of the fighting men. As in days immortalized by the Homeric poems, each man cultivated his own farm, and there was no slave population.

There was almost incessant war among the various tribes peopling Macedonia, but in course of time one chief—leader of a Hellenic band—checked the power of the other chiefs and assumed kingship over the country. This position was retained by his family with a varying success; sometimes all the tribes were held in control; more often the king retained the allegiance of only part of them. It is significant to note, however, that the Macedonian kings were recognized by the Greeks as Hellenes, and were admitted to contests in which only free born Greeks could participate.

The land theoretically belonged to the king, who gave it out in fiefs to his fighting men. Nevertheless, incursions of mountain tribes into more civilized parts of the country were frequent, and conditions were usually more or less unsettled.

We have seen how the Hellenes planted their settlements on every shore, and established their trading posts at every accessible harbor, and for a long time Macedonia was an inland country, since Greek colonies along the coast practically shut it off from the sea. Conflict first arose between Greeks and Macedonians when the latter tried to recover sea-ports along the eastern shore.

Having no commerce, Macedonia was very poor. When she first became a united country, the kings were obliged to develop mines to obtain means for equipping their armies.

Perdiccas was one of the earliest Macedonian kings to make himself felt in Greece. He reigned during the Peloponnesian war and caused Athens some concern because of his craftiness in opposing or befriending her, as temporarily suited his need. It was left for Philip II to make Macedonia a real power.

"The Macedonians were a vigorous peasant race, keen soldiers and hunters. A man who had not killed his boar could not take a seat at a banquet with the men; those who had never slain an enemy wore a cord round their waist. They respected their kings, but sometimes preferred to follow the princes of the various tribes. The nobility enjoyed great prestige; many nobles joined the king's suite as

friends, so as to be first in sharing danger and booty in his campaigns. . . . Their manners and customs were rude. The king often had several wives, some of the latter came from still more uncivilized neighboring peoples and brought their manners and customs into Macedonia. Their barbarousness was increased by Bacchic ceremonies and mysteries, some of which may have come from Thrace. Drinking was universally prevalent. There is a certain resemblance between the Macedonians and the Germani at the time of the migration of races; great valor, rude customs, and love of drinking are found in both. Such were the people which conquered the Greeks, although under the leadership of kings who were themselves recognized as Greeks. The conflict originated in a struggle for supremacy on the coast of Macedonia and Thrace; thence it penetrated into Greece.'"[1]

Philip II of Macedon was born in 382 B. C. His father, Amyntas II, was on the throne, but affairs were in their usual unsettled condition. The eastern portion of the land, being more orderly and civilized, submitted to the king and gave him support. The western portion, on the other hand, composed of mountain tribes, joined with some of their neighbors and refused to yield allegiance.

When Philip was thirteen years of age, King Amyntas II died, leaving his throne to his eldest son, Alexander. The succession was contested, and half the kingdom favored the pretender, Pausanias. The faithless mother-queen betrayed her son and he was killed. The following year an alliance was made between Thebes and Macedonia. Thirty noble Macedonian youths were given Thebes as hostages—probably as security for the payment of tribute levied by Thebes. Philip, the future king of Macedonia, was one of these, and nothing could have been more fortunate for him than to have been taken to Thebes for three years' training. Thebes was now at the height of her power, and Philip had good opportunity to study politics and military affairs. Before he left the city, this semi-barbarian prince had become Hellenic in many of his ideas and sympathies. Especially he admired the part of Epaminondas played in Theban

politics, and he learned much of governmental affairs which was of great assistance to him later on.

Meantime, the second son of Amyntas II had seized control of the Macedonian government, and in 364 B. C. Philip was recalled to take charge of one of the provinces. War soon broke out with the western tribes, and Perdiccas was killed in the struggle. His infant son was left to receive the crown, and for a while Philip acted as regent for his nephew. The times were not auspicious for a baby-king, however, and Philip presently took the title of king for himself.

He realized that two imperative duties lay before him: first, to unite Macedonia and give the country a strong central government; secondly, to weaken the tribes on the frontiers and extend his borders. For the accomplishment of either of these objects a strong army was necessary, so the new king set himself at once to the task of creating one.

The spirit of warring was inborn with his people, and by simply directing this natural tendency and binding his soldiers to him by promises of rewards and shares of booty, Philip was able to rally the nucleus of a fighting force. He drilled his hardy soldiers according to Greek military tactics, gradually perfected discipline, and added special features of his own.

Overmuch has been made of the Macedonian phalanx, yet it was one strong feature of the army, and we may note its organization. It had been the practice among early peoples to draw their soldiers out in lines, thus to face corresponding lines of the enemy. The Greeks had learned the advantage of massing their men, and Philip's phalanx was only the Greek phalanx with certain added features. The heavy-armed infantry formed in squares—16 men in a file, and 8, 12, or 16 files deep. A squad of soldiers 16 in a file and 16 files deep formed a battalion of 256; four such battalions constituted a taxis, and 16 taxes composed a simple phalanx. By advancing *en masse,* a phalanx made a very effective attack. The usual order of battle array was to station the phalanx in the center with cavalry detachments on either wing. Light infantry were placed in front, in the rear, or on either side, as occasion required.

It was customary to employ one-half as many light infantry as there were soldiers in the phalanx, and one-fourth as many horse and irregular soldiers. All were drilled not unlike our soldiers of today. Discipline was rigid and severe. While the phalanx enabled Philip to win victories, it was only effective upon level ground. Alexander the Great depended principally upon his cavalry, whose discipline was thought perfect.

Having thus organized his forces, Philip proceeded to reduce his country to subjection. Then he determined to convert the fighting force into a permanent standing army.

"A national standing army was a new thing in those days. The world was familiar with armies, national, but not standing, levies of citizens, or the subjects of a king, called out for particular campaigns, and relegated presently to private occupations. Even the most professional of such armies, that of Sparta, was not kept constantly under arms, and took a more soldierly than civic character only through constantly mounting guard over a disaffected population. The world was becoming familiar also with armies, standing, but not national, maintained at various epochs by kings or governments of Persia or Egypt, or by commercial cities like Carthage. Such forces as theirs were difficult to control, devoid of *esprit de corps,* liable to seduction and withal enormously expensive. The citizen army, on the other hand, was either sheer militia, incapable of any but the simplest manœuvres, or very small in numbers, and in both cases difficult to retain in the field. Philip's new army was to combine the merits of both the civic and the mercenary; its chief constituent was to be a large force, derived from his own subjects, imbued with national spirit, and induced by rewards and prizes of war to make soldiering a profession, and remain long enough with the colors to acquire drill and discipline superior to the best mercenary armies.

"A professional army with a national spirit—that was the new idea; and Philip, equally great in principle and theory, intended to add later a new organization, a new weapon, and new tactics. But neither an army nor a nation is made in a day."[2]

Maintenance for the army and for the government was derived largely from the gold mines of Macedonia. These were developed and made to yield a good annual income, thus enabling the king to extend his plans for the kingdom. Desiring a sea-port, he came into conflict with Athens. His course on this occasion was indicative of his usual craft. When Athens expostulated with him for attacking her city, he replied that he had merely acted in her behalf, because the town had recently been unfaithful to the Athenians. As soon as it fell into his hands, all Athenian citizens were summarily expelled from its precincts.

By 353 B. C. Philip was ready to move south. As usual, the Greek states were at swords' points with one another. A sacred war was dividing them and it arose in this way: Thebes accused the Phocians of some act of desecration in connection with the Delphian oracle and its sacred ground. A council of the Amphictyonic League inflicted a penalty upon Phocia in consequence, and this she refused to pay. Thebes thereupon declared war, and taking time by the forelock, the Phocians seized the temple; then they announced that all were at liberty to visit the sanctuary as of yore, and that they themselves did not mean to touch its treasure. As the war progressed, however, they found it necessary to melt the ornaments to obtain the means of prosecuting the struggle.

Athens, as we have seen already, was in a fair way to regain her old empire. Having rebuilt her walls, obtained a new fleet, and been voluntarily reënforced by many of her old allies, it seemed quite possible that she would come again into her earlier power. However, she was unable to treat her allies as equals, and they, too, were Hellenic—sensitive about interferences with their own affairs, and resentful of being ignored in matters involving the common good.

During these years Isocrates often appealed to the Athenians to return to their first constitution and first policy—to abandon their fleet, which he conceived to have caused all their difficulties, and once more take the position in Hellenic affairs which they held before the empire.

"It will be asked why I come forward to speak on the

'safety' of Athens at a time when she has a fleet of more than two hundred triremes; peace on the frontiers; the command of the sea, and numerous allies. It is, in truth, this very persuasion of security which alarms me. The rise and fall, first of Athens, then of Sparta, prove that anxious watchfulness leads to success—arrogance to ruin. Our present prosperity is hollow. We have lost the cities in Thrace, spent great sums on mercenaries, become unpopular in Greece, renewed our enmity with Persia, saved the friends of Thebes and lost our own. The whole political constitution of Athens is vitiated. . . . It is on this account that I have given notice of an intention to speak on the 'safety' of Athens. Year by year her course becomes more perilous; and the only hope which I can see for her is in a return to the old paths. I wish to put before you the characteristics of that elder democracy which Solon founded and which Cleisthenes reconstituted. You can then choose between it and the present.

"Under that democracy, license was not confounded with freedom. . . . Office was not yet looked upon as an easier source of income than private industry. The people collectively reigned; the rich man, who had leisure, served as a duty.

"I shall be suspected, they say, of desiring an oligarchy. As it is, I have only been urging a return to that old system under which, as every one knows, Athens was greatest. . . . If we go through the chief cities of Hellas, a democratic, not an oligarchal form of government will be found to have been most frequently prosperous.

"Even our corrupt democracy would seem god-made by the side of the government of the Thirty Tyrants. It was their doing that the walls of Athens were levelled; the dockyards, which had cost 1,000 talents, were destroyed by contract for three; that 1,500 citizens were put to death untried, and more than 5,000 were banished. . . .

"You may ask why, then, I am dissatisfied with this democracy, seeing that it has been productive of so much good? I answer that it is not enough to excel the tyrants: we must strive to reach the standard of our ancestors. No race ought to be better than the Athenians. As other

countries have their special products, Attica has her breed of men; we are of that breed, but at this moment we dishonor it. . . .

"If we go back to the old system we shall get the old results. Then the Greeks trusted us; the generals can tell you how they hate us now. Then, the citizens were so educated as to be a terror to invaders and to live comfortably with each other; now, not a man will fight but for pay, and they are more destitute than solvent. If we imitate our ancestors we shall get rid of our own troubles and save Hellas. Believing this, I have come forward to urge it; reflect and vote as you think best for Athens."[3]

Unsettled conditions in Greece gave Philip an opportunity which he was prompt to improve. He soon declared himself the protector of the oracle of Apollo. In the war which ensued he was victorious. Then, to weaken Athens, he attacked Olynthus, an earlier ally of the Athenians. When this city appealed to Athens for aid, no particular attention would have been given the matter had it not been for Demosthenes. He espoused the cause of the besieged town, and delivered a series of orations against Philip and his encroachments upon Hellenic soil. While the Athenians realized to a certain extent the force of his warnings, they were no longer able to stand as champions for the cause of Greek independence against the world. It is idle to say that the Greeks understood too late the danger of Macedonian aggression. Had they foreseen the full significance of it from the start they were no longer able to rouse themselves as their ancestors had done in the fullness of young vigor. When Olynthus fell and its citizens to the number of 10,000 were sold into slavery, Demosthenes thundered before Athenian audiences and used every effort to stimulate them to action. But Athens' strength was spent. The orations of Demosthenes well express the sentiments of the lesser faction who saw clearly, if they lacked power to act.

"First, men of Athens, if any one regards without uneasiness the might and dominion of Philip, and imagines that it threatens no danger to the state, or that all his preparations are not against you, I marvel, and would

entreat you every one to hear briefly from me the reasons why I am led to form a contrary expectation, and wherefore I deem Philip an enemy; that, if I appear to have the clear foresight, you may harken to me; if they, who have such confidence and trust in Philip, you may give your adherence to them.

"Thus, then, I reason, Athenians. What did Philip first make himself master of after the peace? Thermopylæ and the Phocian state. Well, and how used he his power? He chose to act for the benefit of Thebes, not of Athens. Why so? Because, I conceive, measuring his calculations by ambition, by his desire of universal empire, without regard to peace, quiet or justice, he saw plainly that to a people of our character and principles, nothing he could offer or give would induce you for self-interest to sacrifice any of the Greeks to him. The Thebans he expected (and events prove him right) would, in return for the services done them, allow him in everything else to have his way, and, so far from thwarting or impeding him, would fight on his side if he required it. From the same persuasion he befriended lately the Messenians and Argives, which is the highest panegyric upon you, Athenians; for you are adjudged by these proceedings to be the only people incapable of betraying for lucre the national rights of Greece, or bartering your attachment to her for any obligation or benefit. . . .

"Consider. He desires empire: he conceives you to be his only opponents. He has been for some time wronging you, as his own conscience best informs him, since by retaining what belongs to you he secures the rest of his dominion. . . .

"You behold Philip, I say, a dispenser of gifts and promises: pray, if you are wise, that you may never know him for a cheat and a deceiver. . . . What do you desire? Freedom? Then see you not that Philip's very titles are at variance therewith? Every king and despot is a foe to freedom, and antagonistic to laws."[4]

An embassy was dispatched from Athens to make peace with the northern king. Philip stipulated that each power should retain whatever it held at the moment. Then the

crafty king manœuvred to have himself admitted to the Amphictyonic League, and tried to make friends with Athens. Isocrates favored him, seeing thus a possibility for the long-dreamed-of unity of Greece. But Demosthenes saw nothing but danger ahead if Philip were to place his authority over the land. War broke out again, and both Thebes and Athens were defeated. Philip always preserved a profound respect for Athens, impressed as he had been in his youth by her history and her civilization. Because of this affection for her, he never invaded the city, while Thebes, on the other hand, was harshly treated and was ruled by a Macedonian garrison. When Philip II had marched into the Peloponnesus and received the homage of the southern states, Greece lay at last at his feet, united under his kingship.

A congress of Hellenic states was convened at Corinth, and before delegates from all the leading citizens Philip announced that he would now avenge the insult done to Greece by the invasion of Xerxes. Plans were immediately set on foot preparatory to an Asiatic campaign, but Philip fell at the hand of an assassin. His work, however, was completed. He had found Macedonia little more than a geographical name; he left it a united kingdom. Of its condition when he assumed the crown we may judge from the following lines attributed to Alexander, when once addressing his army:

"My father found you nomadic and poor. Clad in sheepskins, you tended your meagre herds on the mountains, and had to fight grievously for them against the Illyrians, Triballi, and Thracians on your borders. He gave you cloaks to wear in place of hides, he led you down from the hills into the plains, he made you the match in battle of the barbarians who dwelt near you; so that you depended for your safety thenceforth, not on the inaccessibility of your country, but on your own valor. He taught you to live in cities; he appointed good laws and customs for your governance. He made you lords, instead of slaves and subjects of those barbarians by whom you and your possessions had long been harried. The greatest part of Thrace he annexed to Macedon. By seizing the most suit-

able points on the seacoast, he threw open your country to commerce. He gave you the chance to work your mines in safety. The Thessalians, before whom you had cowered, half dead with fright, he taught you to conquer, and by humbling the Phocians he made your road into Greece, hitherto narrow and difficult, broad and easy. To such a degree did he lower the Athenians and the Thebans, who had ever been ready to fall upon Macedon,—and herein had he my help—that, instead of your paying tribute to Athens and taking orders from Thebes, it was to us in turn that they went for protection. Into the Peloponnesus he passed and set matters to rights there; and, being appointed commander-in-chief of united Greece in its projected war against Persia, he achieved this high distinction, not so much for himself as for the commonwealth of Macedonia.'"[5]

Philip had found Greece composed of many states, warring continually with each other. He had shown the possibility of a united Greece by incorporating the country into his original kingdom. He left the completion of the task, however, to his son. Philip accomplished mighty things; it remained for his son alone to do more. On the other hand, the work of Alexander would have been impossible without the pioneering of his father.

Because our knowledge of Philip comes to us largely from his opponents—from the somewhat exaggerated orations of Demosthenes—and because Philip left his crown to his still greater son, his own part has frequently been underestimated. It is enough to say that without him the brilliant empire brought into existence by Alexander could not have been realized at this time.

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[1] Holm: III, 206.
[2] Hogarth: *Philip and Alexander*, 50.
[3] Trans. Jebb, *Attic Orators*, II, 206.
[4] Second Philippic.
[5] Arrian, *Anabasis*, VII, 9, 2ff.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

ALEXANDER, son of Philip II of Macedon and Olympias, a princess of Epirus, whom Philip had married early in life, was born in 356 B. C. Having spent several years when a boy as a hostage at Thebes, Philip had imbibed much Hellenic learning, although this was strangely mixed with wild barbaric ways of the north. He took care that the best teachers should be employed to instruct his precocious son, who early gave unusual promise. In providing him a Greek lineage both Hercules and Achilles were included as remote ancestors of the family. As a boy Alexander much admired the brilliant, impetuous Achilles, whose qualities his own in some respects resembled.

When fourteen years old, he became the pupil of Aristotle, the Greek philosopher and savant. There is no doubt but that this teacher exercised a strong influence upon the young prince. Throughout his life Alexander collected botanical specimens and otherwise gave evidence of the scientific bent his education had taken. The admiration he developed in childhood for the Homeric poems led him to carry the Iliad with him on his later campaigns; it being said that a copy ever reposed at night under his pillow with his sword.

Numerous stories are told to illustrate his extraordinary interest in affairs of state while still a boy, and news of his father's victories filled him with dismay rather than elation, since he mourned that Philip would leave him no worlds to conquer.

His mother, Olympias, was an impassionate creature. She had caught Philip's fancy when participating in wild orgies attending the celebration of Dionysus. Later, when he added numerous wives to his harem, her jealousy knew no bounds. Philip II was assassinated during the festival held in connection with the marriage of her brother and a

daughter; there has never been any doubt but that Olympias incited the murder.

To the young king was left not only an extensive kingdom, which included the Greek states, but also a powerful and well trained army, and, above all, the conception of a world empire.

Most unwillingly the majority of the Greeks had acknowledged the leadership of Philip II and now the opportunity seemed auspicious to declare themselves free. A revolt in Thebes was quickly put down by the young king, only the leaders being punished. When somewhat later, this occurred again, Alexander destroyed the city and sold its inhabitants into slavery. This gave a forceful example of what might be expected should other states follow a similar course. Thereupon, Alexander was publicly acknowledged as a leader in place of his father.

The career of Alexander was highly dramatic. He was highly skillful as a military leader—a born general. In the matter of governing conquered territory he was equally farsighted. Impelled by an unconquerable restlessness, he was seldom quiet; when not engaged in a campaign, he was celebrating his victories with carousals that undermined his vitality, and led to his premature death. The life of this remarkable ruler, crowded as it was in a few brief years, offers as fascinating a subject for a historical novel or play as could well be found, but in our study of Greece we are concerned rather with the effects of his conquests upon Greek civilization—these being far reaching and permanent.

Having settled any evidences of unrest in Macedonia and Greece, and provided for the administration of other regions which his father had previously added to the kingdom, Alexander launched upon a series of campaigns that ended only with his death in 323 B. C. Before penetrating Asia, however, he took the time to seek out the oracle of Zeus Ammon in a remote portion of Africa and have himself declared a son of the great god Zeus. This had a fateful significance for the future.

In his war of conquest directed against the Persian king he was uniformly successful and presently added Persia to his empire. The great treasure of the Persian king fell

into his hands at Susa and Perseopolis and facilitated the continuing of his wars of aggression. In Memphis he was crowned king and, since he had previously been announced by the oracle as of divine birth, he was acknowledged a successor of the pharaohs. India next attracted him and he pushed as far east as the Indus and would have gone farther had not his troops refused to accompany him to realms more distant. Like Napoleon, who later emulated his military prowess, he gave small heed to the sacrifice of mere men provided his ambitions were satisfied. The mortality of troops was appalling on some of his desert marches but this did not deter him from his purpose.

In the mighty palace built by Nebuchadnezzar in 323 B. C., Alexander lay stricken with a fever. His immoderate drinking and carousing had rendered him unfit to cope with the disease and in a few days the great monarch was dead.

Two policies of Alexander were significant for later years and bore fruit, as we shall see. First, his ascribing his descent to a god. This was common in ancient Egypt. The pharaohs were regarded as sons of Ra, the great sun-god, and were worshiped as gods after death. The subservience of the Persians made no claim too extravagant but, as might be expected, the Greeks of the fourth century B. C. were likely to find the episode amusing. When the message was received in Sparta that henceforth he was to be regarded as a god, the Spartans said: "Let him be called a god, if he wishes it," while Demosthenes in Athens indicated that it was immatérial to him whether he claimed descent from Zeus or Poseidon or any and all of the Olympians. The fact remains that this was the beginning in Europe of the theory of "divine right of kings," which reached to the late German emperor, who claimed that he received his right to rule, not from the people, nor the government, but from God alone.

Secondly, it is plain that through the teaching of Aristotle the importance of the city had been deeply impressed upon Alexander. This aspect of the matter has been brought out admirably by Ferguson in his discussion of the monarchy this king established. Says Ferguson:

"Alexander set out for Asia with a firm belief in the

absolute superiority of Hellenic culture; in this belief he remained fixed to the end. To establish Hellenic life throughout Asia, he regarded as the main object of his conquests. His Hellenic ideals he revealed to the astonished natives at almost every halting-place on his march; for on such occasions he again and again held gymnastic and musical contests after the Greek pattern. As we have seen, he had learned from Aristotle that city life and Hellenic life were synonymous, and that without political activity city life was animal rather than human in character. Accordingly, he displayed a feverish energy in founding Greek city-states everywhere in the conquered territory, but particularly in the regions of the Far East where urban life had been hitherto lacking. Like mushrooms overnight, towns by the score sprang up behind him on his line of march, so vast was the immigration into Asia from Greece and Macedon even during the thirteen brief years of his reign.'"[1]

[1] Ferguson: *Greek Imperialism*, p. 133.

ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE

THE untimely death of Alexander the Great sent a shock through all the civilized world. Naturally, it was the signal for Hellenic cities to revolt and for some time confusion reigned. The young conqueror having caused himself to be deified, the official announcement was made that he had "passed from the realm of mortals." A regency was declared in the interest of his half-brother, probably mad, and a posthumous son of his wife Roxane. As a matter of fact, authority was actually vested in those generals and Macedonian nobles who had been sent to administer the several divisions or satrapies into which Alexander had apportioned his empire for political control.

Among numerous plans disclosed by papers which were afterwards recovered among the effects of the dead king were such prodigious undertakings as the building of one thousand super-triremes for making war on the Carthaginians—who were fast making the Mediterranean a "Carthaginian lake," the construction of six temples at a cost of fifteen hundred talents—nearly two million dollars—each; the founding of many new cities and projects for colonizing Asiatics in Europe and Europeans in Asia, "thus linking the two greatest continents by undertakings based upon friendly intercourse and by brotherly feeling due to intermarriages." Regrettably, none was left with sufficient vision to attempt such gigantic tasks. Instead, the struggle shortly began for portions of this unwieldy empire, since to hold it together permanently was manifestly beyond human possibility.

It would profit us little were we to follow the protracted and repeated wars that ensued while those who had held prominent position under Alexander strove to outgrasp one another. Suffice it to note that eventually the whole empire fell into three unequal parts: Macedonia, including Greece; Egypt; and Syria.

Macedonia had been a backward state wherein life had been not materially unlike that of Homeric times so far as the government had been concerned. The hereditary princes each controlled wide domains, accompanying the king on his campaigns and sharing his confidence. Some of those who had faithfully served Philip II continued to command divisions of the army under Alexander. Such a one was Lagus, who wrote what has been esteemed the best life of the great king ever prepared; it was lost in antiquity and is known now only by excerpts. His son Ptolemy administered Egypt for some years under the regency, wisely choosing this country because of its natural boundaries which rendered defense easy; also because of its wealth. In 306 B. C. he took command of the land in his own right, founding a dynasty that survived nearly three hundred years and terminated with the reign of Cleopatra and the conquest of Egypt by Rome.

Of the seventeen cities which Alexander had called by his own name, one only achieved importance: Alexandria, located twelve miles west of the westmost mouth of the Nile.* Protected as was this location by the island of Pharos, when equipped with a long mole joining island and mainland, a small open harbor was available on the west, while on the east a larger bay was nearly enclosed and easily defended. At the northeast point of the island the earliest lighthouse known in history was constructed, from whose top fire was ever kept burning to warn ships at sea. This was accounted one of the wonders of the ancient world. Because of the encouragement which was extended to foreign merchants to establish branches here under the early Ptolemies, within a century of its founding in 332 B. C., Alexandria had a population of half a million.

Antigonus, grandson of the celebrated general of that name, who had served under Alexander, established himself on the throne of Macedon; his successors were known as the Antigonids, but the wars they waged to maintain themselves need not detain us here.

Finally, the largest part of the empire by far was known as Syria, although including Persia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Asia Minor (mostly) and Media as well. It was a con-

glomerate state with even less unity than existed in recent times in the territory known as Austro-Hungary. Media, part of Persia, and Mesopotamia gave little trouble when a Macedonian succeeded a Persian king; in Western Asia trouble was wellnigh continuous.

Antigonus and Seleucus—son of Antiochus—fought bitterly for Syria; the struggle ended in the victory of Seleucus, who located his capital at Antioch and founded a dynasty that lasted two hundred years.

Thus was the vast empire of Alexander carved into three general divisions within a few years of his death. Our concern is rather with the spread of Hellenic civilization into the continents of Asia and Africa which his conquests engendered.

Greek history falls naturally into three general periods: the *Homeric;* the age of the *Athenian empire;* and the *Hellenizing* age. It is true that contact with Egypt and western Asia had been continuous since the days of colonization in the eighth century B. C. Not only did Greeks travel in foreign lands and write accounts of their journeyings for the edification of their countrymen, but traders from other countries found it advantageous to maintain emporiums in Hellas; the colonies sustained a close intercourse with the parent states, and some filtration to and fro was inevitable. However, whenever the Hellenizing of the ancient world is mentioned, reference is made to that period of Greek culture which followed in the wake of Alexander's conquests; which, indeed, went hand in hand with his army. During the few years of his life which remained after his successful penetration of Asia, he did everything possible to stimulate the projection of Hellenic culture into conquered lands.

The result to later civilization was tremendous from this wide dissemination of Greek life, the greatest advantage of which was that the highest culture the world had yet known was brought into backward states which had long lain under the enervating influence of Persia. The greatest disadvantage was that through close contact with lower types of civilization it was inevitable that Greek culture should be diluted.

Only in three localities did Greek occupation of Egypt

work material changes: in and around Alexandria, which became primarily a Greek city; in the Fayoum, where modern excavations have shown that a strong Hellenic center was long maintained; and, finally in a town founded by the Ptolemies in Upper Egypt and called by their name. For two hundred years a law strictly forbade intermarriage between the races and as a rule there was little intermingling. Egypt had seen many a conqueror and accepted another with scant attention and no apparent change of manners and customs. The country was heavily oppressed with taxes, but this was nothing new. The Ptolemies were astute enough to stimulate trouble between Macedon and Greece so that their king had little time to concern himself with Egypt.

After the reigns of Ptolemy Soter and Ptolemy Philadelphus, later rulers of this house propitiated the Egyptians by building temples so like those of earlier years that only in modern times has it been ascertained that they were of late construction. To placate their subjects, they became Egyptian; the Egyptians did not become Greek.

In the Hellenizing of Africa, therefore, we are principally concerned with the city of Alexandria, which became one of the brilliant capitals of antiquity. As an educational center it first rivaled and then eclipsed Athens, save in the field of philosophy. It was laid out after the modern fashion of having streets intersect at right angles; Dinocrates was the architect who planned it. Its two main boulevards were forty-six feet in width, which, in view of the vehicles of the age, gave ample freedom. Like most cities of the time it was walled; its main thoroughfares ran northeast to southwest and northwest to southeast. Canopic Gate seems to have pierced the wall at the northeast, where the boulevard terminated.

In the royal quarter were the royal palaces, the Museum, so-called because it was thought to be under the protection of the Muses, and the famous Library. The Museum was an aggregation of buildings including a temple to the Muses, porticoes and halls for students and quarters for scholars who were maintained through the beneficence of the Ptolemies. Some of the greatest savants of the age

became attached to this first University, as it might appropriately be called; Eucleides—Euclid—whose treatise on geometry until the last few years remained the textbook on this subject; Aristarchus, whose work on grammar long remained the most complete writing on the subject, among them.

The first librarian of Alexandria was Zenodotus, who did much to purify the Iliad and Odyssey, into which considerable spurious matter had been inserted. It is claimed that in his recession of the Homeric poems one-sixth of the text was eliminated; he it was who divided the poems into the twenty-four books, ever since retained. A large number of slaves were constantly occupied in copying works for this library, it being the ambition of the Ptolemies to assemble here the literature of the world.

"Not only were all the masterpieces of the Golden Age sought out and catalogued, but the chief librarian made it his business to publish critical studies on the purity of the texts, and to see that the Alexandrian text represented the best and soundest tradition. . . . It is a credible tradition that the second Ptolemy borrowed from Athens the original stage copies of the great tragedians on the huge deposit of one hundred talents of silver, and that he abandoned the money and secured the originals, sending back copies to the city."[1]

The chief librarian was the highest official of this Library and the post was filled by several distinguished men after Zenodotus, who occupied it from 285-260 B.C. Callimachus, the poet, Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus succeeded him.

The total number of scrolls is said to have ranged from five hundred thousand to seven hundred thousand, several often belonging to one writing, as today several volumes may contain portions of one production. Further a branch of this Library seems to have been maintained at the Serapis—which requires a word of explanation.

The deity Serapis was long thought to have been a creation of this period, but it is now known that the word was formed by a fusion of Osiris and Apis; the cult of this god came into vogue at this period and we have already noted

the excavations of the Serapeum in Memphis in an earlier volume.[x] Here the sacred bulls were entombed.

The Museum was equipped also with observatories, botanical and zoological gardens. A great altar to Zeus—now in possesion of Berlin—stood on the site; it is remembered for its frieze which represents rapidity of motion to a degree unusual in marble.

In spite of strong inducements to leave Athens for the more brilliant seat, the Ptolemies were not able to attach the best known philosophers to their court. The quiet of the older city seemed to them better adapted to meditation.

In his fine discourse on this historical period Mahaffy points out our great debt to Alexandria for its preservation of priceless literature: notably the Greek version of the Old Testament, two or more centuries older than the oldest surviving Hebrew version. What a heritage it would have been had these well catalogued and annotated editions come down to us instead of being lost through the blind destruction of man!

While the first pastoral poems and the first romances belong to this period and in spite of the production of fine statuary, there are certain evidences of decadence in this scintillating age of Alexandria. In his *History of Greece,* Holm reproduces from Athenæus an account of the pageant which celebrated the accession of Ptolemy Philadelphus to the throne. This is in itself evidence of a loss of earlier ideals and is quoted for that reason.[y]

In Asia, numerous Greek cities, as we have seen, sprang up; these, like the cities of Greece, were vouchsafed their liberty of local self-government. In this way Greeks could remove from Hellas to different parts of Syria and find the assembly and other political bodies to which they were accustomed. Each town was laid out with its agora, its porticoes and its theater.

Alexander had conceived that intermarriage would rapidly facilitate the amalgamation of the races. Accordingly, he himself had taken Asiatic wives and bestowed daughters of Asiatic kings and nobles upon his officers.

"Teach them the Greek language, draw them along with

the immigrant Greeks into the body politic of the new cities, equip them with Macedonian weapons, drill them in the Macedonian fashion, and distribute them in the Macedonian regiments; above all, use the nobles in the high administrative posts, and it seemed to Alexander possible, within a short time, to fuse the new masters of Asia with the old into a new cosmopolitan race."[2]

Upon his return from India he celebrated his own marriage with the daughter of Darius and the marriages of some eighty of his officers and commanders to Asiatic daughters in a way calculated to symbolize the fusion of the two peoples. Arrian has left to us the account of one who witnessed this strange function.

"It was a hall of a hundred couches, each large enough for two to recline at table, and in it each couch, made of twenty minas' worth of silver, was decked as for a wedding. Alexander's had feet of gold. And to the feast were bidden all his Persian friends and given places on the opposite side of the hall from himself and the other bridegrooms. And all the army and the sailors and the embassies and the visitors were assembled in the outer court. The hall was decorated in most sumptuous style, with expensive rugs, and hangings of fine linen, and tapestries of many colors wrought with threads of gold. And for the support of the vast tent which formed the hall there were pillars thirty feet high, plated with silver and gold, and set with precious stones. And around about the sides were costly portieres, embroidered with figures and shot through with gold threads, hung on gilded and silver rods.

"The circuit of the court was half a mile. Everything was started at the signal of a trumpet-blast, whether it was the beginning of the feast, the celebration of the marriages or the pouring of one of the libations, so that all the army might know."[3]

Alexander gave dowries to each one and afterwards "he caused the names to be written down of all the other Macedonians who had married Asiatic women and there were said to be over *ten thousand* of them. To these, too, gifts were given by Alexander at the marriage feast."

He also had a plan put into operation for the training of

thousands of Asiatic youths after the manner of boys in Hellas.

Certain Asiatic cities vied in cultural ways with Alexandria—notably Pergamum, on the west coast of Asia Minor. Here too was a wonderful library, here a temple was raised to Athena and on the citadel, crowned by the royal palace, buildings similar to those on the acropolis of Athens were built.

It was due to this scattering of Hellenic civilization throughout western Asia that, when evil days fell upon Europe and most of the remains of Greek glory were forgotten or destroyed or both, traces of that once great culture survived—often in out-of-the-way places. Modern excavators have brought to light many ruins of Greek theaters built during this age. More may yet be recovered.

For the creation of new masterpieces in literature and art, and even more for its fine effort to preserve what had already been created, modern civilization is greatly beholden to this last age of ancient Greek civilization.

In the second century B. C., Greece fell to the portion of Rome and her subsequent history belongs in a discussion of that rapidly rising power.

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*Due to the rapid accumulation of silt, ports were not located at the mouths of streams but to one side.

[1] Mahaffy: *Progress of Hellenism*, p. 109.

[2] Ferguson: *Greek Imperialism*, p. 136.

[3] Quoted in Wheeler's *Alexander the Great;* also by Ferguson, as above.

x See Part I, p. 192.

y See p. 739.

AN ALEXANDRIAN PAGEANT*

"To what an extent mere amusement, devoid of all higher meaning, was prized in Alexandria is shown by the description of the procession with which Ptolemy Philadelphus celebrated his accession, quoted by Athenæus from a book by Callixenus of Rhodes.

"This pageant took place in the stadion of Alexandria and lasted the whole day. It consisted of a series of separate processions, devoted to various gods or personages; it began in the morning with the procession of the morning star, and concluded in the evening with that of Hesperus. Athenæus has specially described the procession of Dionysus, from which I give a few extracts. First of all came a crowd of satyrs and Sileni, among them forty gaily-painted satyrs with golden ivy-wreaths, then a car drawn by 180 men with a statue of Dionysus, 15 feet high, which poured wine out of the golden goblet; in front of it was a golden jar containing fifteen measures, or 135 gallons, of wine, a golden[x] table with a golden censer and two golden bowls on it, covered by a roof of ivy and vine leaves, from which hung garlands, fillets, masks and cymbals; the car was followed by men and women with wreaths and serpents in their hair. On another car—for everything was represented on cars, just as nowadays in the case of historical and similar processions—was placed a statue of Nysa, 12 feet high, which was made to stand up, to pour milk out of a golden dish and to sit down again by means of machinery. Another car bore a wine-press, 36 feet long by 21 broad, and full of grapes, which sixty satyrs led by a Silenus trod to the strains of the flute, so that a continual stream of must flowed from it. On another car was a bottle made of panther-skins, containing 3,000 measures, 27,000 gallons, of wine, which gradually poured out of it. Then came a silver jar holding 600 measures, about 5,400 gallons, which had statues on the rim, on the handles and on the base, and was surrounded in the middle by a golden wreath inlaid with diamonds. Farther on, the return of Dionysus from India was brought on the scene. The god, 18 feet in height, was seated on an elephant; in front of him on the elephant's

neck was a satyriskos 7½ feet high—all on a car. This was followed by 500 girls in purple chitons, with golden belts. Then came 120 satyrs in gold or silver attire, and after them satyrs riding on donkeys, cars drawn by elephants, ostriches and camels, mules harnessed to cars with tents on them, in which sat captive women; camels laden with incense, myrrh and spices, negroes with 600 elephants' tusks, hunters with 2,400 dogs, 150 men with trees, to which all kinds of animals were fastened; parrots and other birds in cages; all sorts of wild beasts, ending with an Ethiopian rhinoceros. Another remarkable feature consisted of women seated on a car, who represented cities liberated from Persian sway, a homage to Alexander and Ptolemy. Then a golden thyrsus, 135 feet long, was carried by, and after that the royal army, 157,000 infantry and 23,000 cavalry, marched past. The whole of this interminable pageant, which evidently repeated and surpassed in splendour similar scenes in ancient Egypt, was at once a religious and a political function; it was an honour paid to the gods, especially to Dionysus, who corresponded to Osiris, with whom again the king of Egypt was ranked as an equal, and a proof to subjects and foreigners of the wealth and the power of the king. People were to take care not to quarrel with such a monarch! . . . Display of pomp was traditional in the East; if Ptolemy Philadelphus did more in the above pageant than was customary, it was because he felt the need of making himself popular in every way."

*Holm: *The History of Greece,* Vol. IV, p. 312.

xProbably much described as golden was merely gilded.

RELIGION

NO century was more important in Hellenic experience than the fifth, nor more potent in its influence on the future. We have found that within it were crowded the struggle with Persia for freedom; the rise of Athenian political supremacy, maintained during the fifty years of her imperial leadership; and the quarter-century of civil war which directly or indirectly affected all Hellas. In the world of thought it was equally remarkable, fraught as it was with rich legacies for later civilization.

Memorizing the poems of Homer and Hesiod comprised in no small measure the education of young boys in Greece, hence this alone would have insured a continued reverence for the Olympian deities even had these not been inseparable from Greek life. In the family, libations were regularly offered to the gods and no public undertaking was begun without sacrifices to them. In considering the elaborate ceremonies attendant upon the worship of Athena, we have found that her fortunes and those of Athens were closely intertwined. Zeus was the great god of Olympians and mortals, loving justice, punishing evil-doing. Such Pan-Hellenic festivals as those held in honor of Zeus in Elis, of Apollo at Delphi and Athena in Athens constituted strong ties that distinguished the Hellenes in their own eyes from other nations.

As standards of human conduct became higher, it disturbed the thinking to have their deities associated with such flagrant frailties as the old epics had recounted. Plato denounced this emphatically and Euripides went so far as to say: "If the gods do aught that is base, they are no gods." And again, he puts into the reply of Hercules the words:

"Tales of Gods' hands manacled
Ever I scorned nor ever will believe,

Nor that one God is born another's lord.
For God hath need, if God indeed he be,
Of naught: these be the minstrels' sorry tales."

How firmly fixed was the belief of the people generally that the mighty gods of Olympus ruled human destiny and how promptly they resented any desecration of them was proved by the resentment and indignation aroused by the mutilation of the Hermæ before the departure of the fleet to Sicily. In the plays of Æschylus and Sophocles, as well as in the sculpture of the age a tendency to exalt their gods and represent them as worthy of a people's adoration was plainly visible.

However, the Olympian gods did not entirely fill the spiritual needs of a people of such rapidly increasing intelligence as the Greeks. They gave no comfort to the aged and ailing, for death, though unavoidable, was cheerless. While existence beyond the grave was believed in, it was conceived to be a colorless state, even for the patriot, who hoped to be remembered of men for his valor, but viewed death as depressing and hopeless. To meet this human longing, the mysteries came into being.

The little village of Eleusis lay fourteen miles distant from Athens. Here the Eleusinian mysteries were solemnized. The hall built by Pisistratus for the initiates was burned by the Persians and rose again more commodious than before. Thither came the devotees of this cult every autumn to attend the ceremonies preserved with such secrecy that none left on account of them for the future.

To an agricultural folk the yearly falling away of vegetation and its reappearance in the spring present the recurring mystery of life and death. Numerous have been the legends devised by various people to account for these striking phenomena of nature. Demeter was the earth goddess of the Greeks and a myth related that her only daughter was stolen from her one day and carried off by Hades, god of the underworld. Unaware of her fate, the distracted mother searched land and sea for nine days ere she tarried in Eleusis, exhausted by her grief and exertion. She was discovered by the daughters of the king, Celeus,

who took her as nurse for his infant son. When she sought to bestow immortality upon the babe, plunging him into the fire, his mother cried out in alarm and the goddess revealed herself in her true form.

Meanwhile, missing her attentions, the earth had suffered; vegetation had withered and mortals had cried out to Zeus, who intervened to have Persephone restored to Demeter. She had already tasted the food of the dead, the seeds of the pomegranate; henceforward she could remain on the earth a portion of each year only: those months during which nature rejoices and puts forth her fruits. Later, she must needs return to spend the allotted time in Pluto's realm, and vegetation dies and the earth languishes.

Demeter made the little village that had harbored her during her period of sorrow the locality of her special care. She taught the people her cult and instructed them how to worship her. Such was the story that accounted to the Greeks for the association of this cult with Eleusis. Though these mysteries were celebrated at certain other places, in the Peloponnesus and elsewhere, this Attic village was their true home.

The term *mysteries* applied to certain Hellenic cults does not imply so much that they were mysterious as that they were revealed only to the initiated. To prepare novices for the fall celebration, a lesser observance was held in March, during which instruction was given them. In September the nine-day festival took place. The first days were occupied by acts of purification both of the initiates and the animals to be sacrificed. Then the believers set out on the pilgrimage to Eleusis, where they fasted, afterwards partaking of barley meal, thyme and water, just as Demeter had once done. The culminating feature was evidently a kind of mystery play, presented by the priests of Demeter, not unlike such presentations in the Middle Ages. The main episodes of the story were presented in tableaux: the snatching away of the beloved daughter; Demeter's frantic search for her; the time of grief during which the earth was neglected and life languished; the final restoration of the girl and return of spring. Here we find a kind of death and resurrection play which in certain particulars calls to

mind the passion of Osiris, presented at intervals in Abydos.[x] The withering and regrowth of vegetation seemed to symbolize the death and future life of mortals. Humanity in all ages has craved some assurance for life beyond the grave. The uncertainty of a future state is not lacking among people today and even the most confident can realize the mood of the poet of ancient Athens when he wrote:

> "If any far-off state there be
> Dearer to life than mortality,
> The hand of the Dark hath hold thereof;
> And mist is under and mist above.
> And so we are sick for life and cling
> On earth to this nameless and shining thing.
> For other life is a fountain sealed,
> And the depths below are unrevealed,
> And we drift on legends ever."

Each age has found its own solution to the query, unsolved after all is said; and a modern poet voices an uncertainty not radically different from that of the Attic writer just quoted:

> "Strange, is it not? that of the myriads who
> Before us pass'd the door of Darkness through,
> Not one returns to tell us of the Road,
> Which to discover we must travel too."

Throughout, the Eleusinian ceremonies were in keeping with the character of the earth goddess.

"On the last day of the festival two jars were filled with water and set up, one to the east and the other to the west of the great hall. Then these were overturned with the words 'rain,' 'conceive.' Here we have a bit of ancient agricultural ritual, of magic, intended to secure abundant rains and the prosperity of the crops. A similar rite was the solemn exhibition of an ear of grain as a symbol of the initiates' hopes. . . .

"Life beyond the grave was certainly taken for granted. The spectators were put into a certain frame of mind; the celebration touched their emotions, not their intellects. . . . They clearly enjoyed peace of mind and happiness, and they believed that in the future life their blessedness would be

secure and that they could dance in the sacred dance while the uninitiate would be wretched. As the Homeric hymn of Demeter promised: 'Blessed is he among mortal men who has seen these rites.' . . . Sophocles too says: 'Thrice blessed are they who have seen these rites and then go to the house of Hades, for they alone have life there; but all others have only woe!' "[1]

Men, women and children were initiated; even slaves were admitted. The restrictions were only that one's life should be blameless and one's tongue, Hellenic. No restrictions were placed upon the initiates nor were they held to any moral standard. Joining the order was itself the crucial point; on this account the more thoughtful were not wholly satisfied with this cult.

Since the Orphic mysteries placed greater emphasis upon the exemplary life, they appealed to the discerning. The name was derived from Orpheus, of whom little is told; such myths as exist are mostly concerned with his musical accomplishments. He was supposed to be the one who led the initiates to the god Dionysus, the deity revered by those of this cult. We have already found that he was a comparatively late comer into Hellas, coming south with people who migrated from Thrace.

"Bringer of the vine, and protector of all living things, he was the god of a blessed release, through intoxication, from the troubles of life; he stood for the call of the wild, the return to nature, the death and the rebirth of vegetation."[2]

There was a legend that Dionysus had been attacked by the Titans; thereupon he changed his form several times, finally assuming that of the bull. The Titans then tore him to pieces and devoured him. Zeus swallowed his heart thus permitting him to live again; he also killed the Titans who had wrought the evil deed and from their ashes he fashioned man. Since these beings had devoured the god, man contained within himself both the mortal and the divine and the mystics who found this worship satisfying dreamed of freeing themselves from the body, which was mortal, and exalting the soul, the divine. Those who drank freely of wine found bodily release for the time and conceived of

themselves as having partaken of the nature of the god. Through the sensations they experienced they seemed to loose their spirits from the body and in frenzies of joy they could accomplish what under other conditions would have been impossible to them. Great excesses originally attended this worship, but the Greeks refined it and as the cult spread rapidly among them, it continued to be modified and transformed.

Meat was forbidden the followers; beans were not touched—probably because they had once been associated with food for the dead. Transmigration was one of the tenets. Virtue was its own reward, consequently, for the evil-doer was compelled to spend long years climbing up again from the depths to which he might have sunk.

From what is known of the mysteries of Orphism, it would seem that few contemplated their abstruse doctrines, while many found satisfaction in the notion of release through wine—sacred to the god; union with him as his spirit, through the wine, manifested within them; exultation as they danced in his honor, and the surety promised to the righteous that "they would have a gentler lot in a fair meadow by the deep-flowing Acheron," while those who had "worked wrong" would be led to chilly Tartarus.

The cult of Dionysus made a strong appeal to women and *The Bacchæ* is a play in which are shown the fair dancers holding their festival in a remote wood. The Thracian king who disguises himself as a woman in order to view their rites, is torn to pieces by the infuriated devotees. With flowing hair caught by wreaths of ivy or vine of the grape, in shimmering robes they would speed over the hills to celebrate the rites of Dionysus, even though pursued and persecuted. We may find it at its best in the chorus of maidens voicing the chant of the Bacchæ, rendered into English by the fine pen of Gilbert Murray:

"Will they ever come to me, ever again,
The long, long dances,
On through the dark till the dim stars wane?
Shall I feel the dew on my throat, and the stream
Of wind in my hair? Shall our white feet gleam
In the dim expanses?

Oh, feet of a fawn to the greenwood fled,
Alone in the grass and the loveliness;
Leap of the hunted, no more in dread,
Beyond the snares and the deadly press;
Yet a voice still in the distance sounds,
A voice and a fear and a haste of hounds;
O wildly labouring, fiercely fleet,
Onward yet by river and glen . . .
Is it joy or terror, ye storm-swift feet? . . .
To the dear lone lands untroubled by men,
Where no voice sounds, and amid the shadowy green
The little things of the woodland live unseen.
What else is Wisdom? What of man's endeavor
Or God's high grace, so lovely and so great?
To stand from fear set free, to breathe and wait;
To hold a hand uplifted over Hate;
And shall not Loveliness be loved for ever?"

While we have no means of knowing how many shared the mysteries of these two religious brotherhoods, it is safe to say that comparatively few—some few thousand, perhaps, were initiated into the Orphic mysteries; many more into those of Eleusis. More still were content to observe the rites known to their fathers and to offer barley meal and salt with libations of wine to the Olympic deities.

The close of the fifth century was marked by a distinct change in the thought of the people. All the fair dreams for political glory had been rudely shattered. The serious-minded even doubted if democracy could retain for the people the advantages it might win. The hold of the past was lessening; Euripides voiced a new age. Whereas Æschylus had written of heroes and the gods, and Sophocles had dealt with kings and men, Euripides fearlessly introduced into his plays such themes as the dissatisfaction of women with their lot; the doubt and scepticism that were creeping into life at the close of the century.

Philosophy was absorbing the greatest minds and its piercing inquiry was bound to further lessen the influence of tradition upon the people.

[1] Moore: *Religious Thought of the Greeks*, p. 70.
[2] Greene: *The Achievement of Greece*, p. 231.
[x] See Part II, p. 142.

GREEK LITERATURE

MODERN writers have been able to find their prototypes in the literatures of the classical and mediæval world. The ancient Greeks had no earlier literature to serve them as models. Their originality is for this reason thrown into stronger relief, since most of the literary forms now used were their invention. It is true of all languages that the original can never be rendered adequately in translation, yet the fact remains that as we read the books of the Old Testament with ease and facility and as men of all civilized nations can today read Shakespeare in their own tongues, so it is possible for us to acquire through English translations an intimate acquaintance with the literature of the Greeks—the most perfect ever yet produced in any country.

It is easy to trace the development of Hellenic literature because each age produced some literary form especially adapted to its needs. In our study of the Homeric poems[z] we have found the epic admirably suited to an age of warring kings and soldiers, often dwelling for considerable time in camps; to such the tales of doughty heroes were bound to make a direct appeal. While the Iliad and Odyssey remained popular throughout Greek history, the epic was not produced to any extent after the complete change of life which was ushered in with the eighth and continued until the early part of the fifth century. Kingdoms gave way to oligarchies and these to tyrannies; political malcontents found outlets for their energies directly in colonization and indirectly in commerce. The importance of the individual replaced the earlier importance of kings and warriors, and the vehicle of expression for this period was the lyric.[y]

Under this general name we group a wide variety of verse: odes, hymns, pæans, songs, choruses, elegies and epigrams. To the Greeks these were known either by their meter, i.e. elegiac and iambic; or from their method of being

rendered, those sung being called melic, from *melos,* song. The elegy was probably of Cretan origin and was in the beginning sung to the accompaniment of the flute. This gave way to the lyre, an instrument of only four strings in Homeric days. On the island of Lesbos, where we found lyrical verse reaching its highest expression, Terpander devised a lyre of seven strings about the middle of the seventh century and this new instrument gave a considerable impetus to melic poetry. For while in modern times poets have written beautiful lyrics that were never intended to be sung, this was not true in Greece. Poet and musician were the same; the poet not only wrote his song but composed the music to whose melody it was rendered. Since their music has been entirely lost, we are unable to judge adequately of the melics or to know to what extent the lyre enhanced their beauty.

Our word *elegy* has an altogether different meaning from the Greek. With the Hellenes it signified dactylic hexameter followed by pentameter; such meter was used for a wide range of themes, from religious to political in character. The *iambic,* being rapid in movement, was adapted to satire and to experiences of daily life. Both iambic and elegiac were ordinarily recited. Sappho and Alcæus composed melic poems to be rendered by one voice. In Sparta, where the individual was lost in the state, chorals were in favor. These were sung by choruses and accompanied by dancing.

Pindar of Thebes was adjudged by the Greeks their greatest lyric poet, his fame being intimately associated with the national games, held, as we have previously found, at Olympia, Delphi, Corinth and Nemæa.

While the victors were awarded only a wreath of wild olive, laurel or pine—according to the tradition of the locality where the games were held—it was a highly coveted honor to win in these closely contested sports. Of primary importance were the Olympian games and greatest renown attached to the two hundred yard dash, the winner giving his name to the following four years, or Olympiad; so that events would be reckoned from the Olympiad of Pausanias, or whatever the name might be.

Each town gloried in the victories of her sons and upon their return celebrations were held to commemorate their successes; sometimes an athlete would be thereafter maintained at public expense if his victory had been conspicuously triumphant. To further commemorate the occasion odes were composed and were publicly rendered by carefully trained choruses. The name of Pindar is closely associated with such odes. Because of his matchless skill his abilities were constantly in demand, so that he is known to have composed many poems extolling those who bore away the wreaths, whether at Olympia, Delphi, Corinth or Nemæa. Forty-four of these commemorative odes still survive.

Being of noble birth, Pindar valued long lineage and aristocratic descent. In his poems he sought out some mythical story connected either with the victor's family or with his native town and made much of it, touching upon the victor with graceful allusion, never stooping to flattery. Even Greek scholars find Pindar's odes difficult to appreciate because they abound in references now obscure or meaningless. Like Keats, he might well be called "the poet's poet." To his Hellenic audiences every word was fraught with significance. Since he retained his popularity unimpaired throughout his life, his proficiency in his art is evident. When Alexander destroyed the city of Thebes he spared the home of this gifted poet and his kin.

It is our misfortune that many of the lyrics of ancient Greece survive only in fragments which in numerous cases cannot even be ascribed with certainty to authors. Symonds has happily compared them to the isles of the Ægean, mountain tops projecting above the water, while the great continent of which they were once a part is lost.

Just as the lyric was the appropriate form for expressing the reflective and individualistic tendencies of an aristocratic age, so was the drama the fitting expression of democracy, combining as it did features of the epic, iambic and choral. Naturally it was in Athens, where democracy reached its fullest expression, that drama came to its perfection.

This being the subject for later attention, suffice it to

note here the place of drama in the chain of literary growth in Hellas. Its principles were largely laid down by Æschylus, who held closely to early ideas and ideals. Destiny retained its Homeric importance in his plays. Gods and heroes were the fitting subjects of his tragedies; near to an aristocratic age, the common people found no place in his writings. He was the great teacher of myths and traditions, although, to be sure, these had a place in all Greek plays. Sophocles belonged to the age of Pericles and Phidias and the flower of Athenian life. Men were the subject of his attention—men as they should be rather than as they were. Euripides came later, when democracy had reached extremes. He reflected the doubt and unsettled standards of his period. His men were not idealized but modern, realistic. Comedy in an age before cartoonists and satirical "funny papers" served not only to entertain but to mirror the follies of the period.

Because Greek poetry was so flexible and so well suited to numerous purposes, prose was a late development. Lawgivers and philosophers had expressed their views to the people in verse. This is largely to be explained in the fact that little was written; all was rendered orally. Copies of productions were retained for reference by the reciter. Verse was easily remembered. As a recent writer has remarked: twenty thousand editions of a play were procured when it was once rendered at the Dionysia. Although not the first to make use of it, Herodotus gave prose an established place in Greek writing. It is traditional to speak of him as the "Father of History," which is not misleading if we understand the character of the history which he wrote.

Born in Halicarnassus in 454 B. C., he lived some time in Athens. He traveled widely, including Egypt, Babylonia, Phœnicia and regions round about the Black Sea in his journeyings. His writings were designed to entertain and fascinate his countrymen rather than to set forth a chronicle of attested facts. Being unable to speak the languages of the lands he traversed, he was at the mercy of garrulous guides and incorporated their tales into his book. While by no means as credulous as many of his time,

he naïvely states both the probable and improbable and lets the hearer credit what he will. Portions of his writings he himself recited to the people who congregated at the great games. It was in the Alexandrian age that these were thrown into the present nine books, each named for one of the Muses. Although he wrote the story of the Persian war, he took occasion to compare Greek and oriental culture.

"These are the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, which he publishes, in the hope of thereby preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done, and of preventing the great and wonderful actions of the Greeks and the Barbarians from losing their due meed of glory; and withal to put on record what were their grounds of feud." In such words does he state his purpose.

In his valuable treatise on the historians of ancient Greece, Bury says of Herodotus: "He was the Homer of the Persian war, and that war originally inspired him. His work presents a picture of sixth-century civilization; and it is also a universal history in so far as it gathers the greater part of the known world into a narrative which is concerned upon a single issue. It is fortunate for literature that he was not too critical; if his criticism had been more penetrating and less naïve, he could not have been a second Homer. He belonged entirely in temper and mentality to the period before the sophistic illumination, which he lived to see but not to understand."[1] The two qualities of the epic which he continually recalls are his ever recurring digressions and his habit of permitting the characters in his history to speak in person.

We have already found Thucydides the great historian of the Peloponnesian war. With him careful research and criticism in historical writing began. Himself a product of sophistic teaching, he applied logic and gave first consideration to accuracy. "Of the events of the war I have not ventured to speak from any chance information, nor according to any notion of my own; I have described nothing but what I either saw myself or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular inquiry. . . . And very likely the strictly historical character of my narrative may be disappointing to the ear. But if he

who desires to have before his eyes a true picture of the events which have happened, and of the like events which may be expected to happen hereafter in the order of human things, shall pronounce what I have written to be useful, then I shall be satisfied. My history is an everlasting possession, not a prize composition which is heard and forgotten."

Thucydides lived in an age when drama was supreme and his history is dramatic, this feature being accentuated by the arrangement of material and grouping of speeches which are set into the mouths of the various characters who appear, as on a stage. None of the digressions which abound on the pages of Herodotus interrupt the progress of that highly dramatic war whose events are preserved to us in Thucydides' history. In dignified and measured phrases the narrative continues. It is the work of the scholar to detect to what extent the author has disclosed his private opinions and prejudices and to determine whether or not sentences apparently harmless couch some calculated irony. Such discussions affect little since at best they can be but surmised. Our debt to Thucydides is great, not only for his carefully recorded account of the long war that divided Hellas, but for his lucid style which places the narrative so clearly before us.

"The work of Thucydides has limitations which we must beware of under-rating; but it marks the longest and most decisive step that has ever been taken by a single man towards making history what it is today. Out of the twilight in which Herodotus still moved wondering, he burst into the sunlight where facts are hard, not to wonder but to understand. With the Greeks historical study never acquired the scientific character which it was reserved for the nineteenth century to impress upon it. But within the limits of the task he attempted Thucydides was a master in the craft of investigating contemporary events, and it may be doubted whether within those limits the nineteenth century would have much to teach him. . . . His complete work, posthumously published, had an immediate and far-reaching result in establishing political history."[2]

Xenophon was a historical writer of less genius than his predecessors. His *Anabasis* gives an account of the retreat of the Greeks who refused to yield to the Great King after the death of Cyrus the Younger and, in spite of their generals having been put to death, started on that long journey from the Euphrates to the Black Sea. Xenophon had joined the army brought together by Cyrus for adventure and because he was interested in this ambitious Persian who made friends with the Greeks. It was only after they had gone far on their march that the true object of the project was revealed to the soldiers: to overcome the Persian king and obtain his throne. In his *Hellenica* he continued the history of Greece from the point where Thucydides left off to the fall of Thebes. His writings lacked the penetration of his great predecessors; it is constantly noted by his critics that he never got below the surface of events he described nor fully comprehended their significance.

Philosophy is treated elsewhere and it remains to speak of oratory. In one sense, speech-making among the Greeks was prominent and accorded first place in Homeric times. To be able to win others to a project it was necessary that the leader should sway them by his eloquence. Because the consent of the council had first to be procured, persuasive speech was important among the immediate advisors of the king. However, it was in placing a question or course of action before the assembly that this gift counted principally; we read continually in the Iliad of the soldiers being swayed by the convincing speech of the sceptred kings.

This early means of gaining a following became more important as time went on. It required some gift of oratory to be able to carry the vote of the assembly during days of Athenian democracy. Also, to plead one's cause before jurors, it was necessary to be able to state one's ground clearly and develop arguments logically. To meet this situation in Greece the sophists came into existence—traveling teachers who prepared citizens to take part in the political life of their communities. They were spoken of as teachers of rhetoric, but that included whatever might per-

tain to persuasive speech. They trained their pupils to be logical; to reason; to develop their theme and emphasize their points and, in short, to be ready for the duties which citizenship in rapidly growing cities such as Athens, Syracuse and numerous other centers, might bring.

Such a teacher was Gorgias, the teacher of Thucydides, who influenced in no small measure the historian's style. He charmed the Athenians by the poetical quality of his oratory when he came to their city soon after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war.

A group of professional speech-writers grew up in Athens to prepare in advance pleas for those who must present their own cases in the courts or who desired to obtain the public ear at the assembly. Most accomplished of these logographers was Lysias, who made simplicity a fine art. His success was due to being able to clothe his speeches in such direct, simple language and keep them so unadorned that they deceived by their very naturalness and conveyed the idea to attentive jurors that the individual before them was telling his side of the disputation with boyish candor. Many of these speeches of Lysias remain; they exerted no small influence upon his generation.

But the florid style of Gorgias was destined to appear again in his most accomplished pupil, Isocrates, who, prevented from personally participating in public affairs by lack of physical force and adequate voice, became a teacher of great note. Under his instruction the embellishments of poetry came to adorn oratory. Much importance was laid upon sentence construction; words were balanced; the closing word of a sentence was used as the opening word of the next, phrases knit closely together and words grouped with studied effects.

Greek oratory reached its zenith in the speeches of Demosthenes, who lived when democracy hung in the balance and Macedonian kings were already casting their shadows over Hellenic states. Modern opinion has not been able to accord his rival, Æschines, full credit for his eloquence since he espoused the cause of Philip of Alexander, while Demosthenes thundered his immortal Philippics against the inroads of that king. For his service to the

state it was proposed that Demosthenes be presented with a crown in the theater. Æschines attacked the citizen proposing this and a famous suit resulted, Demosthenes delivering his celebrated oration *On the Crown.* Unstinted praise has been accorded him for his masterpieces of oratory which are as perfect in their way as the finest of Greek dramas or the noblest sculpture.

We have found that a large part of literary effort during the Hellenizing period concerned itself with the reëditing and purifying productions already written. There was, nevertheless, much creative activity. In the field of comedy the productions of Menander were popular. Once known to moderns only in fragments, in recent years excavations in Egypt have yielded copies of some of his plays. Polybius wrote biography since the political life of the times again focused attention upon the individual. The lives of prominent men were widely read and this form of literature continued to appeal. It was in the second century after Christ that Plutarch wrote his famous *Lives.* The poet Theocritus, who spent much of his life among the Sicilian peasants but made occasional sojourns to the court of the Ptolemies, produced his first pastoral poetry which rested those weary of the artificialities of the age. Much as Marie Antoinette and her companions toyed at being shepherds and shepherdesses, so the sophisticated dwellers of cities turned with relief to the bucolic verse of Theocritus.

The romance was born of this period—the forerunner of the modern love-story. Nor should we fail to make mention of the epigram—not a new literary form, but one which now reached its richest expression. The following, by Callimachus, poet and librarian of the Alexandrian Library, is one of the finest.

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[1] Bury: *Greek Historians.*
[2] Ibid.
[x] See Part III, p. 484.
[y] See Part III, p. 596.

To Heraclitus

They told me, Heraclitus, they told me you were dead;
They brought me bitter news to hear and bitter tears to shed.
I wept, as I remembered, how often you and I
Had tired the sun with talking and sent him down the sky.
And now that thou art lying, my dear old Carian guest,
A handful of gray ashes, long, long ago at rest,
Still are thy pleasant voices, thy nightingales, awake,
For Death he taketh all away, but them he cannot take.

—*Cory's Trans.*

From Pindar's Sixth Nemean Ode

(This ode is in honor of Alcimidas of Ægina, winner in the boys' wrestling match.)

One race there is of men and one of gods, but from one mother draw we both our breath, yet is the strength of us diverse altogether, for the race of man is as naught, but the brazen heaven abideth, a habitation steadfast unto everlasting.

Yet withal have we somewhat in us life unto the immortals' bodily shape or mighty mind, albeit we know not what course hath Destiny marked out for us to run, neither in the daytime, neither in the night.

And now doth Alcimidas give proof that it is with his kindred as with fruitful fields; for they in turn now yield to man his yearly bread upon the plains, and now again they pause, and gather back their strength.

From the pleasant meeting-places of Nemea hath the athlete boy come back, who following the ordinance of Zeus hath now approved him no baffled hunter in his wrestling-quest, and hath guided his feet by the footprints of Praximadas, his father's father, of whose blood he sprang.

For Praximadas also by his Olympian victory first won the olive wreath from Alpheus for the Æacidæ, and five times being crowned at Isthmus, and at Nemea thrice, he took away thereby the obscurity of Socleides, who was the eldest of the sons of Agesimachus.

* * * * * * *

Come, Muse, direct thou upon this house a gale of glorious song; for after that men are vanished away, the minstrel's story taketh up their noble acts, whereof is no lack of the Bassid clan; old in story is the race and they carry cargo of home-made renown, able to deliver unto the Muses' husbandmen rich matter of song in honor of their lofty deeds.

* * * * * * *

On willing shoulders bear I this double load, and am come a messenger to proclaim this honor won in the games that men call holy to be the five and twentieth that the noble house of Alcimidas hath shown forth: yet were two wreaths in the Olympian games beside the precinct of Cronion denied to thee, boy, and to Polytimidas, by the fall of the lot.

Peer of the dolphin hurrying through the brine—such would I call Melesias by whom thy hands and strength were guided, as a chariot by the charioteer.

Theocritus*

[Daphnis and Menalcas]

Where yonder long hill ranges stretch away,
Met once upon a time, so people say,
Menalcas, shepherding his flock, and fair
Young Daphnis, as he drove his cattle there.
The golden bloom of earliest manhood downed
The cheeks of both, both were in song renowned,
Skilled in pipe-playing both. Eying his man,
Menalcas 'twas who thus the strife began:
"Daphnis, thou keeper of the lowing kine,
Hast thou a mind to strive in song with me?
For as I please, methinks, the match is mine,
When I shall sing in turn."
Undauntedly
Did Daphnis answer: "To thy fleecy throng
Pipe thou, Menalcas, nor with me contend;
Never wilt thou discomfit me in song,
Though singing till thou meet an evil end."

Menalcas.
Carest thou to try, and wilt thou risk a stake?

Daphnis.
I dare to try, and will a wager make.

Menalcas.
What pledgéd prizes shall the victor take?

Daphnis.
I'll pledge a calf, and do thou stake a lamb,
One that hath grown to overtop his dam.

Menalcas.
No lamb for me! Stern is my father, stern
My mother, and each night the flock they tell.

Daphnis.
Where is the gain, then? What will serve thy turn?

* From the Eighth *Idyll*, Lang's translation.

Menalcas.

My pipe, nine-stopped, and smoothed and fitted well
With clean white wax in every joint and edge.
Naught will I wager of my father's things.

Daphnis.

And such a pipe, so fashioned, will I pledge;
But late I made it—still my finger stings
Where the reed split and gashed me to the bone.

Menalcas.

And where shall one to judge our songs be found?

Daphnis.

There is the fellow—yonder goatherd lone,
The man for whom that dog, the white-patched hound,
Is barking 'mongst the kids.

Hallooing rang
Over the hills. The goatherd caught the call
And came a willing umpire. First there sang
Sweet-voiced Menalcas (so the lot did fall),
Daphnis in pastoral fashion answering.
Menalcas thus his challenge sweet did sing:

THE DUEL OF SONG

Menalcas.

Ye glades and meads,
Rivers and streams, issue divine,
If ever Menalcas, piper on reeds,
Sang sweet to your ears, then sweetly incline;
Answer, to please him, the prayer that he pleads:
"Feed ye these lambs of mine";
And grant unto Daphnis no less, when he leads
Hither his calves and his kine.

Daphnis.

Fountains and dales,
Green new growth of the earth, and sweet,
If Daphnis sings like the nightingales,
This herd that loweth about his feet
Fatten ye well; and if hither trails

Flock of Menalcas, may it meet
The same free pasture to brim his pails.

Menalcas.

There
The ewe and the she-goat twins do bear;
Alive
With bustle and hum is the storéd hive;
And oaks rise loftier by the way
Where beautiful Milton's feet do stray.
Ah, withered and lean doth the shepherd show,
And barren the pastures, if he go!

Daphnis.

Spring, spring everywhere! pastures green,
Udders a-drip with the spoil they bear,
And younglings everywhere suckled are seen,
When roameth Nais the fair.
Ah, parchéd and dry are the kine and the grass,
And pining the herdsman, if on she pass!

* * * * * * *

Menalcas.

Wolf, spare the suckling kid and fostering dam,
And harm not me, for I so youthful am
To tend so great a flock. Ah, Lampurus,
Why sleep so soundly? Not so soundly thus
Should sleep the dog that helps a shepherd young.
O ewes of mine, the tender grass among,
Feed and spare not! for, ere ye weary, will
The cropped spears grow again. Feed on, and fill
Dugs to the full, so when the lambs give o'er,
Still may I something in my cheese-crates store.

Again in answering strains young Daphnis sang,
And sweet the prelude of his singing rang:

Daphnis.

Fair, oh so fair! the girl with wedded brows
Railed on me from her cavern. Ne'er a look
Nor word I gave her. On I drove my cows.
Sweet, oh so sweet! the breath of kine, the nook
Where one may lie at large and dream and drowse

Lulled by their lowing and the babbling brook.
Dear, oh so dear! as calf to mother young,
Apples to orchard, acorns to the oak,
Are kine to neatherd.

Then when they had sung,
The goatherd in this wise the boys bespoke:

The Goatherd.

Sweet is thy mouth, O Daphnis! ravishing
The song of thine! Better to hear thee sing
Than honey taste. The pipe to thee belongs,
For thou hast conquered in the strife of songs.
Ah, if from thee some ditty I might learn
The while I herd beside thee, thou shouldst earn,
As thy reward, this she-goat, short of horn,
That brims the milking pail each night and morn!

As fawn about its mother, leaped full high
The glad boy, clapping hands in victory.
But ah, the other's heart was all forlorn
And grieved he as a new-wed maid doth mourn.
Thenceforth with Daphnis could no swain compare,
And in his earliest youth he wedded Nais fair.

GREEK PHILOSOPHY

IT would be expected that a people as curious as the Greeks would have tried to find some explanation of the universe apart from old myths and legends. Just as the Homeric poems had their beginnings in Asia Minor, so it was in this part of Hellas also that philosophy had its birth. The earliest school grew up in or around the city of Miletus. Thales was the first of these "wise men," as the term *philosopher* once signified. He and his immediate successors tried to discover some one element, "self-created and self-moving," from which all things emanated and to which all might finally be resolved. Dwelling in a land where water played a prominent part, observing the dependence of all life upon it, he decided that the *ultimate reality*, or one fundamental substance at the basis of everything, was *water*. No writing of Thales survives and we know of his theories only through reference made to them by others, notably by Aristotle. He is credited with having foretold an eclipse. His chief service to Hellenic thought was that he sought for the explanation of the universe in natural phenomena about him and not in stories of the gods.

Anaximander, a pupil of Thales, said the primal element was the "unlimited"; he is reputed to have made the first map of the earth and so considered to have been the first geographer. Anaximenes said the ultimate reality was *air* —*vapor*—world-stuff. Heracleitus of Ephesus proclaimed it *fire*. He found nothing permanent but the law of change and the flame seemed to him to indicate the flux and flow of life.

The second philosophical school, if these loosely grouped savants may be so called, shifted to southern Italy where much of Pythagoras' life was spent; he was a native of Samos. Whether he borrowed heavily from the Orphics or they from him cannot be determined. He founded a sort

of brotherhood for study and meditation. He found *numbers* to be fundamental and attached to them a significance that is not wholly understood today. It would seem that number determined the distinctive form that each object assumed. Certain foods, notably beans, were tabued by him, as with the Orphics, but it is now thought that foods once associated with the dead, those which it had been ōnce customary to offer to the deceased, were tabued for that reason.

Parmenides taught that there was no change; changeless matter, invisible, seemed to him to be fundamental. Most fearless of them all was Xenophanes, who denounced the old tales of mythical creation and claimed that the explanation of the universe was to be found in the universe itself.

"Everything is ascribed to the gods by Hesiod and Homer,
Whatsoever among mankind is shameful and wicked.
Numberless lawless deeds of the gods by them are recorded,
Thievishness, unchastity, ay, and deceit of each other!
Still men hold the belief that the gods were born and begotten,
Wear such garb as themselves, and have like bodies and vices. . . .
Yet it is certain, if hands were bestowed upon oxen or lions,
If with their hands they could draw, and the works of men should accomplish,—
Horses like unto horses, and oxen in likeness of oxen,
So would they draw their figures of gods and fashion the bodies,
Like in every way to their own!"[1]

It is plain that sentiments such as these were bound to undermine faith in the old myths, which tended to decline as the scientific spirit quickened.

It would be impossible to summarize briefly the philosophical thought of Greece. Of the early teachers much doubt exists, only fragments being left concerning their opinions. Empedocles found four primal elements: earth, air, fire and water, and held that all things resulted from their combination, love and hate being the forces that combined or separated them. He was more interested in the processes of nature. Leusippus developed the theory of atoms, which was taught by Democritus. Anaxagoras be-

lieved matter to be composed of infinite particles and held that all was chaos until *Nous* or mind acted upon them. He awakened the wrath of the Athenians by claiming that the sun was a body of molten fire, as large as the Peloponnesus —that it was not a god at all.

It was Protagoras who called men from speculations such as these, pointing out their contradictions since one denied change and another declared it alone to be abiding. He believed that they were not likely to comprehend the physical world and its unnumbered problems; instead, he focused their attention upon man. He perceived that there was no such thing as absolute truth, but that each conceives it according to his degree of understanding; so he enunciated the formula that "Man is the measure of all things"—implying that each must judge for himself.

Protagoras was foremost of the so-called Sophists, who, as we have seen, arose to meet a need of the times. While some took advantage of their claims to impose upon the public, the fact remains that there were many earnest teachers among them who taught men how to think logically and to become familiar with those arts upon which the orator must depend. The fact that they charged fees—and high ones—for the instruction they offered caused them to fall into disrepute and to make the conservative suspicious of them. Protagoras opened his discourse on the gods with the words: "So far as the gods are concerned, I cannot know whether they exist or do not exist; or what their nature is. Many things prevent our knowing. The matter is obscure and life is short." Well may we wonder, with Moore who cites the fragment in his *Religious Thought of the Greeks,* "what large matter Protagoras found for his discussion when he began with this frank confession of ignorance; but it should be observed that in this confession there is nothing necessarily antagonistic to the popular theology of his day. It only shows what the words plainly declare, that a belief in the gods cannot depend upon knowledge." However, the times were precarious and it seemed to those who dwell content in the traditional thought that men such as these were not to be trusted. We today are familiar with the rules of debate, whereby, regardless of

the truth of a premise or its absurdity, he who handles his side the more ably and makes the greatest number of points is conceded to be the winner. To many Athenians it appeared that these teachers of dialectics who came to their city from other places, were charging the youth of the community large fees and teaching them to make the weaker side of an argument appear the stronger. For these reasons the Sophists fell into disfavor and the word began to take on some such meaning as we have in mind when we call a person sophisticated—not always to his credit.

It was in the latter part of the fifth century that one of the world's great figures began to win a following in Athens—a citizen, whereas earlier philosophers had come from Asia Minor and Italy. The son of a humble stone cutter, poor all his life and unconcerned with his apparel which was the simplest, ill-favored in appearance and the more conspicuous therefor, since the Hellenic ideal was a beautiful soul in a beautiful body. At first sight it would seem as if Socrates was the last one to make an impression upon his own age, let alone upon all subsequent history. He left no writing and we know of his life through what was said of him by his disciples, principally by Plato, and by contemporaries. He believed that ignorance was the cause of all wrong; that every wrong act hurts the one who committed it most of all and that were he but aware of this, he would never err. He sought to find out whether or not there were some basic principles wherein all men were agreed and to this end he frequented the agora and the public places, conversing with people. He claimed to be ignorant and to wish to know. Men were glad to display their knowledge and were ready to enlighten him. However, by adroit questioning he invariably confused his informant and awakened more often than not his resentment. Young men were wont to throng around him to enjoy the annoyance of the man wise only in his own conceit. Socrates knew that he himself had limited knowledge; the majority of his countrymen had given the matter little thought and fancied that since they lived in the foremost city of the world and enjoyed unusual opportunities and

since, above all, they were Hellenes and not barbarians—for reasons such as these and many beside, they considered themselves possessed of a fair degree of knowledge. Socrates thought that they must lose this opinion before they could really progress very far and so he went about, engaging his fellows in dialogue. He tried to arrive at universal definition and used inductive reasoning. One exception disproved a rule.

Athens had lost her political freedom in 404 B. C. There were many who felt that the gods had not been with them in these days of denial and questioning. Socrates had made many enemies by his habitual questioning and a charge was brought against him in 399 B. C. that he had corrupted the youth of the city and turned them away from the traditional path. Alcibiades had been one of his pupils, he who had advocated the Sicilian expedition that had turned out so disastrously, and, worse still, had been guilty of sacrilege. The spirit of the times was to throw blame upon someone and Socrates fell under popular disapproval. He was tried on the charge of introducing strange gods and misleading the youth and was found guilty. His plea to the court that tried him is preserved in Plato's Apology and there is strong reason to think it may be reasonably accurate. While he would have been dismissed with a fine had he tried to propitiate the jurors, he angered them by saying that instead of punishment he deserved to be maintained at public expense for the good he had done Athens. This resulted in his condemnation and he was sentenced to drink the cup of hemlock. It so happened that delegates had been sent to the island of Delos to attend the worship of Apollo and so, this being a holy month, the sentence was delayed in execution. During this period Socrates' followers came to the prison and conversed with him daily and opportunity was offered for him to make his escape. But he had been a good citizen, had a fine record as a soldier, loved Athens and said it would ill become him to break her laws. There is no question but that he was able to serve philosophy and free thought far more by dying than by living longer. Such a noble death as his was bound to make a deep impression upon his age. The Athenians later exiled those who had

voted his death, and his memory has remained undimmed through the ages.

As a matter of fact, Socrates was a fine type of citizen. He was far from disbelieving in the gods, but he was intelligent and could not abide by the established order of things. He began to question and this is likely to lead to readjustment. In all ages there has been a strong conservative element which has stood for things as they were. Progress has come from those who questioned, although they have often reaped the wrath of the well intended but mentally slow; and both types are needed: those who point the way and those who serve as ballasts to keep civilization stable.

Socrates was seventy years old; he had spent his life in public service, teaching men to think. He said that not unlikely death was a boon rather than a misfortune and by his tragic death his mission was fulfilled.

Greatest of his pupils was Plato, of aristocratic lineage. The action of the extremists in condemning his beloved teacher aroused his contempt so greatly that he would never have anything to do with political affairs. He traveled widely, wrote and taught, founding the Academy: a school established in his own home which was located near the public park or Academy, so called because it had been given to the city by one Academus. He wrote a series of dialogues in which Socrates led the conversation, just as he had formerly done. These preserve for the most part what is known of him today. It was inevitable that Plato should unconsciously interweave his own views in these written conversations and that is the point of contention among scholars: to what extent we may accept the views advocated in Plato's dialogues as revealing the true Socrates. In his later dialogues, while Socrates was still present, his was no longer the dominating voice, which has led to the belief that in these Plato expressed more freely his own ideas. Not approving of the government around him, he wrote his *Republic,* picturing a model state in which affairs would move along after a plan designed by him as perfectly as he was able to conceive it. The people were to fall into three general classes: the masses, who would toil, being unfit for naught beside; the middle class, which would be

made up of soldiers, and the few fit who were to be the guardians of the public weal. Children designed for this last position were to be educated from their earliest moments with this end in view. As we look back upon it after two thousand years and more this model republic seems to us less perfect than he imagined. However, his emphasis on education and his care to have youth properly trained worked for good.

Plato's style was poetical and dramatic; these qualities render his prose pleasing, even in translation. To attempt any adequate analysis of his theory of the *idea* or to summarize his philosophy would require much time and space. Far better than to read discussions of this gifted thinker, who has held a position unchallenged through time, is it to read his dialogues and become acquainted with him directly.

His distinguished pupil was Aristotle, born in Macedonia but spending the greater portion of his life in Athens. He studied for twenty years with Plato. Whereas his teacher was theoretical, Aristotle was of a more practical nature. Plato dwelt above the clouds, but Aristotle was a keen observer, classifying and organizing knowledge. He too wrote dialogues but they have been lost. His treatise on *Politics* led him to investigate one hundred and fifty constitutions of Hellenic and other states. This work was known to moderns only through excerpts until a portion of it was discovered in an Egyptian tomb in 1891 by Petrie, this dealing only with the constitution of Athens.

Aristotle founded the Lyceum; since he walked with his pupils as he talked, his school has been called the *peripatetic.*

The fact that Aristotle came of a long line of physicians probably accounted for his scientific bent. Plato called him the "reader" because he exhausted all available material in his investigations before beginning to write upon a subject. He was beyond any question the most learned savant of antiquity. He did not change philosophical thought of his age so much as classify and assemble it. Representative youths of his generation studied with him and it must always be remembered that in Hellas mature men attended

the lectures of the noted teachers as well as those still preparing for life's activities. The Academy which Plato founded and the Lyceum of Aristotle both merged into universities and continued until 529 A. D. when Justinian closed all institutions of non-Christian origin.

Both Plato and Aristotle were read all through the Middle Ages, Plato being called "a Christian who had been born out of time." Both exercised a strong influence on the early Fathers and on the trend theology assumed.

In Hellenistic years we find several philosophical schools which claimed to be based on the teachings of Socrates. As has well been said: "There was no Socratic philosophy, and that is why all efforts to state it fail. There was only a man who could never be forgotten."

Socrates had claimed he wanted so little that he was never in want. This aspect of his teaching was taken up by the Cynics, who made of poverty a virtue, scorning convention. Their name probably came from the gymnasium of Cynosarges, outside of Athens, where their founder, Antisthenes, taught. The American School of Classical Studies is now located near this site. However, the word was popularly accounted for as being derived from cynic, *dog,* many of them being of a snarly disposition. Diogenes is most famous of them all and every school boy is familiar with his tub and his meeting with Alexander the Great.

Socrates had said that good was pleasurable and his pupil Aristippus changed this to "There is good in pleasure and pleasure is the only good." Luxury and licentiousness found here their exponent; so developed the Cyrenaic school from Cyrene, the home of its founder.

The Epicurean School had much in common with the Cyrenaic, only Epicurus taught that the acme was getting the largest amount of pleasure offset with the least amount of pain. This school tended to degenerate quickly and although its founder and his associates led worthy lives, their successors soon confounded pleasure with self-indulgence until the word Epicurean came to signify one who rejoiced in good things to eat and drink and frequently in coarser indulgences.

Socrates had questioned that he might arrive at truth. This phase of his work was taken up by the Sceptics, who denied the possibility of real knowledge. Pyrrho of Elis taught that the highest good was indifference to all things.

Zeno came to live in Athens—a Hebrew from Cypress. The hardihood of the great teacher appealed to him. He founded the school of Stoics, the name bestowed upon them from their habit of meeting in the "Painted Porch," a colonnade north of the main street leading through the agora. Here were frescoes done by Polygnotus, giving the portico—or *stoa*—its name. Socrates' self control, his disregard for luxuries, his freedom from the emotions of pleasure and pain, hope and fear—this aspect of his teaching they seized upon.

Stoic philosophy was destined to become a great comfort to those who lived in years when men were no longer free; when Rome fell under the rule of despots this theory of life offered some hope. One of the great Roman emperors, Marcus Aurelius, was himself a prominent exponent of this school.

Thus we see the constructive age had passed, the surest sign being the harking back to the past instead of insistent and continued growth.

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[1] Lawton's Trans.

SOCRATES' DEFENSE

From the APOLOGY*

"HOW you have felt, O men of Athens, at hearing the speeches of my accusers, I cannot tell; but I know that their persuasive words almost made me forget who I was:—such was the effect of them; and yet they have hardly spoken a word of truth. But many as their falsehoods were, there was one of them which quite amazed me;—I mean when they told you to be upon your guard, and not to let yourselves be deceived by the force of my eloquence. They ought to have been ashamed of saying this, because they were sure to be detected as soon as I opened my lips and displayed my deficiency: they certainly did appear to be most shameless in saying this, unless by the force of eloquence they mean the force of truth; for then I do indeed admit that I am eloquent. But in how different a way from theirs! Well, as I was saying, they have hardly uttered a word, or not more than a word, of truth; but you shall hear from me the whole truth: not, however, delivered after their manner, in a set oration duly ornamented with words and phrases. No, indeed! but I shall use the words and arguments which occur to me at the moment; for I am certain that this is right, and that at any time of life I ought not to be appearing before you, O men of Athens, in the character of a juvenile orator—let no one expect this of me. And I must beg of you to grant me one favor, which is this—If you hear me using the same words in my defence which I have been in the habit of using, and which most of you may have heard in the agora, and at the tables of the money-changers, or anywhere else, I would ask you not to be surprised at this, and not to interrupt me. For I am more than seventy years of age, and this is the first time that I have ever appeared in a court of law, and I am quite a stranger to the ways of the place; and therefore I would

have you regard me as if I were really a stranger, whom you would excuse if he spoke in his native tongue, and after the fashion of his country;—that I think is not an unfair request. Never mind the manner, which may or may not be good; but think only of the justice of my cause, and give heed to that: let the judge decide justly and the speaker speak truly.

And, first, I have to reply to the older charges and to my first accusers, and then I will go on to the later ones. For I have had many accusers, who accused me of old, and their false charges have continued during many years; and I am more afraid of them than of Anytus and his associates, who are dangerous, too, in their own way. But far more dangerous are these, who began when you were children, and took possession of your minds with their falsehoods, telling of one Socrates, a wise man, who speculated about the heaven above, and searched into the earth beneath, and made the worse appear the better cause. These are the accusers whom I dread; for they are the circulators of this rumor, and their hearers are too apt to fancy that speculators of this sort do not believe in the gods. And they are many, and their charges against me are of ancient date, and they made them in days when you were impressible—in childhood, or perhaps in youth—and the cause when heard went by default, for there was none to answer. And hardest of all, their names I do not know and can not tell; unless in the chance case of a comic poet. But the main body of these slanderers who from envy and malice have wrought upon you—and there are some of them who are convinced themselves, and impart their convictions to others—all these, I say, are most difficult to deal with; for I can not have them up here, and examine them, and therefore I must simply fight with shadows in my own defence, and examine when there is no one who answers. I will ask you then to assume with me, as I was saying, that my opponents are of two kinds; one recent, the other ancient: and I hope that you will see the propriety of my answering the latter first, for these accusations you heard long before the others, and much oftener.

Well, then, I will make my defence, and I will endeavor

in the short time which is allowed to do away with this evil opinion of me which you have held for such a long time; and I hope that I may succeed, if this be well for you and me, and that my words may find favor with you. But I know that to accomplish this is not easy—I quite see the nature of the task. Let the event be as God wills: in obedience to the law I make my defence.

I will begin at the beginning, and ask what the accusation is which has given rise to this slander of me, and which has encouraged Meletus to proceed against me. What do the slanderers say? They shall be my prosecutors, and I will sum up their words in an affidavit. "Socrates is an evil-doer, and a curious person, who searches into things under the earth and in heaven, and he makes the worse appear the better cause; and he teaches the aforesaid doctrines to others." That is the nature of the accusation, and that is what you have seen yourselves in the comedy of Aristophanes, who has introduced a man whom he calls Socrates, going about and saying that he can walk in the air, and talking a deal of nonsense concerning matters of which I do not pretend to know either much or little—not that I mean to say anything disparaging of any one who is a student of natural philosophy. I should be very sorry if Meletus could lay that to my charge. But the simple truth is, O Athenians, that I have nothing to do with these studies. Very many of those here present are witnesses to the truth of this, and to them I appeal. Speak then, you who have heard me, and tell your neighbors whether any of you have ever known me hold forth in few words or in many upon matters of this sort. . . . You hear their answer. And from what they say of this you will be able to judge of the truth of the rest.

As little foundation is there for the report that I am a teacher, and take money; that is no more true than the other. Although, if a man is able to teach, I honor him for being paid. There is Gorgias of Leontium, and Prodicus of Ceos, and Hippias of Elis, who go the round of the cities, and are able to persuade the young men to leave their own citizens, by whom they might be taught for nothing, and come to them, whom they not only pay, but are

thankful if they may be allowed to pay them. There is actually a Parian philosopher residing in Athens, of whom I have heard; and I came to hear of him in this way:—I met a man who has spent a world of money on the sophists, Callias, the son of Hipponicus, and knowing that he had sons, I asked him: "Callias," I said, "if your two sons were foals or calves, there would be no difficulty in finding some one to put over them; we should hire a trainer of horses, or a farmer probably who would improve and perfect them in their own proper virtue and excellence; but as they are human beings, whom are you thinking of placing over them? Is there any one who understands human and political virtue? You must have thought about this as you have sons; is there any one?" "There is," he said. "Who is he?" said I; "and of what country? and what does he charge?" "Evenus the Parian," he replied; "he is the man, and his charge is five minæ." Happy is Evenus, I said to myself, if he really has this wisdom, and teaches at such a modest charge. Had I the same, I should have been very proud and conceited; but the truth is that I have no knowledge of the kind, O Athenians.

I dare say that some one will ask the question, "Why is this, Socrates, and what is the origin of these accusations of you: for there must have been something strange which you have been doing? All this great fame and talk about you would never have arisen if you had been like other men: tell us, then, why this is, as we should be sorry to judge hastily of you." Now I regard this as a fair challenge, and I will endeavor to explain to you the origin of this name "wise," and of this evil fame. Please to attend them. And although some of you may think that I am joking, I declare that I will tell you the entire truth. Men of Athens, this reputation of mine has come of a certain sort of wisdom which I possess. If you ask me what kind of wisdom, I reply, such wisdom as is attainable by man, for to that extent I am inclined to believe that I am wise; whereas the persons of whom I was speaking have a superhuman wisdom, which I may fail to describe, because I have it not myself; and he who says that I have, speaks falsely, and is taking away my character. And here, O men of Athens, I must beg

you not to interrupt me, even if I seem to say something extravagant. For the word which I will speak is not mine. I will refer you to a wisdom who is worthy of credit, and will tell you about my wisdom—whether I have any, and of what sort—and that witness shall be the God of Delphi. You must have known Chærephon; he was early a friend of mine, and also a friend of yours, for he shared in the exile of the people, and returned with you. Well, Chærephon, as you know, was very impetuous in all his doings, and he went to Delphi and boldly asked the oracle to tell him whether—as I was saying, I must beg you not to interrupt—he asked the oracle to tell him whether there was any one wiser than I was, and the Pythian prophetess answered, that there was no man wiser. Chærephon is dead himself; but his brother, who is in court, will confirm the truth of this story.

Why do I mention this? Because I am going to explain to you why I have such an evil name. When I heard the answer, I said to myself, What can the god mean? and what is the interpretation of this riddle? for I know that I have no wisdom, small or great. What then can he mean when he says that I am the wisest of men? And yet he is a god, and can not lie; that would be against his nature. After long consideration, I at last thought of a method of trying the question. I reflected that if I could only find a man wiser than myself, then I might go to the god with a refutation in my hand. I should say to him, "Here is a man who is wiser than I am; but you said that I was the wisest." Accordingly I went to one who had the reputation of wisdom, and observed him—his name I need not mention; he was a politician whom I selected for examination—and the result was as follows: When I began to talk with him, I could not help thinking that he was not really wise, although he was thought wise by many, and wiser still by himself; and I went and tried to explain to him that he thought himself wise, but was not really wise; and the consequence was that he hated me, and his enmity was shared by several who were present and heard me. So I left him, saying to myself, as I went away: Well, although I do not suppose that either of us knows anything really beautiful and good, I am better off than he is,—for he knows nothing, and thinks

that he knows. I neither know nor think that I know. In this latter particular, then, I seem to have slightly the advantage of him. Then I went to another who had still higher philosophical pretensions, and my conclusion was exactly the same. I made another enemy of him, and of many others besides him.

After this I went to one man after another, being not unconsciousness of the enmity which I provoked, and I lamented and feared this: but necessity was laid upon me,—the word of God, I thought, ought to be considered first. And I said to myself, Go I must to all who appear to know, and find out the meaning of the oracle. And I swear to you, Athenians, by the dog I swear!—for I must tell you the truth—the result of my mission was just this: I found that the men most in repute were all but the most foolish; and that some inferior men were really wiser and better. I will tell you the tale of my wanderings and of the "Herculean" labors, as I may call them, which I endured only to find at last the oracle irrefutable. When I left the politicians, I went to the poets; tragic, dithyrambic, and all sorts. And there, I said to myself, you will be detected; now you will find out that you are more ignorant than they are. Accordingly, I took them some of the most elaborate passages in their own writings, and asked what was the meaning of them—thinking that they would teach me something. Will you believe me? I am almost ashamed to speak of this, but still I must say that there is hardly a person present who would not have talked better about their poetry than they did themselves. That showed me in an instant that not by wisdom do poets write poetry, but by a sort of genius and inspiration; they are like diviners or soothsayers who also say many fine things, but do not understand the meaning of them. And the poets appeared to me to be much in the same case; and I further observed that upon the strength of their poetry they believed themselves to be the wisest of men in other things in which they were not wise. So I departed, conceiving myself to be superior to them for the same reason that I was superior to the politicians.

At last I went to the artisans, for I was conscious that I

knew nothing at all, as I may say, and I was sure that they knew many fine things; and in this I was not mistaken, for they did know many things of which I was ignorant, and in this they certainly were wiser than I was. But I observed that even the good artisans fell into the same error as the poets;—because they were good workmen they thought that they also knew all sorts of high matters, and this defect in them overshadowed their wisdom—therefore I asked myself on behalf of the oracle, whether I would like to be as I was, neither having their knowledge nor their ignorance, or like them in both; and I made answer to myself and the oracle that I was better off as I was.

This investigation has led to my having many enemies of the worst and most dangerous kind, and has given occasion also to many calumnies. And I am called wise, for my hearers always imagine that I myself possess the wisdom which I find wanting in others: but the truth is, O men of Athens, that God only is wise; and in this oracle he means to say that the wisdom of men is little or nothing; he is not speaking of Socrates, he is only using my name as an illustration, as if he said, He, O men, is the wisest who, like Socrates, knows that his wisdom is in truth worth nothing. And so I go my way, obedient to the god, and make inquisition into the wisdom of any one, whether citizen or stranger, who appears to be wise; and if he is not wise, then in vindication of the oracle I show him that he is not wise; and this occupation quite absorbs me, and I have no time to give either to any public matter of interest or to any concern of my own, but I am in utter poverty by reason of my devotion to the god.

There is another thing:—young men of the richer classes, who have not much to do, come about me of their own accord; they like to hear the pretenders examined, and they often imitate me, and examine others themselves; there are plenty of persons, as they soon enough discover, who think that they know something, but really know little or nothing; and then those who are examined by them instead of being angry with themselves are angry with me: This confounded Socrates, they say; this villainous misleader of youth!—and then if somebody asks them, Why, what evil

does he practise or teach? they do not know, and can not tell; but in order that they may not appear to be at a loss, they repeat the ready-made charges which are used against all philosophers about teaching things up in the clouds and under the earth, and having no gods, and making the worse appear the better cause; for they do not like to confess that their pretence of knowledge has been detected —which is the truth; and as they are numerous and ambitious and energetic, and are all in battle array and have persuasive tongues, they have filled your ears with their loud and inveterate calumnies. And this is the reason why my three accusers, Meletus and Anytus and Lycon, have set upon me; Meletus, who has a quarrel with me on behalf of the poets; Anytus, on behalf of the craftsmen; Lycon, on behalf of the rhetoricians: and as I said at the beginning, I cannot expect to get rid of this mass of calumny all in a moment. And this, O men of Athens, is the truth and the whole truth; I have concealed nothing, I have dissembled nothing. And yet, I know that this plainness of speech makes them hate me, and what is their hatred but a proof that I am speaking the truth?—This is the occasion and reason of their slander of me, as you will find out either in this or in any future inquiry.

I have said enough in my defence against the first class of my accusers; I turn to the second class who are headed by Meletus, that good and patriotic man, as he calls himself. And now I will try to defend myself against them: these new accusers must also have their affidavit read. What do they say? Something of this sort:—That Socrates is a doer of evil, and corrupter of the youth, and he does not believe in the gods of the state, and has other new divinities of his own. That is the sort of charge; and now let us examine the particular counts. He says that I am a doer of evil, who corrupts the youth; but I say, O men of Athens, that Meletus is a doer of evil, and the evil is that he makes a joke of a serious matter, and is too ready at bringing other men to trial from a pretended zeal and interest about matters in which he really never had the smallest interest. And the truth of this I will endeavor to prove.

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Men of Athens, do not interrupt, but hear me; there was an agreement between us that you should hear me out. And I think that what I am going to say will do you good: for I have something more to say, at which you may be inclined to cry out; but I beg that you will not do this. I would have you know, that if you kill such an one as I am, you will injure yourselves more than you will injure me. Meletus and Anytus will not injure me: they can not; for it is not in the nature of things that a bad man should injure a better than himself. I do not deny that he may, perhaps kill him, or drive him into exile, or deprive him of civil rights; and he may imagine, and others may imagine, that he is doing him a great injury: but in that I do not agree with him; for the evil of doing as Anytus is doing—of unjustly taking away another man's life—is greater far. And now, Athenians, I am not going to argue for my own sake, as you may think, but for yours, that you may not sin against the God, or lightly reject his boon by condemning me. For if you kill me you will not easily find another like me, who, if I may use such a ludicrous figure of speech, am a sort of gadfly, given to the state by the God; and the state is like a great and noble steed who is tardy in his motions owing to his very size, and requires to be stirred into life. I am that gadfly which God has given the state, and all day long and in all places am always fastening upon you, arousing and persuading and reproaching you. And as you will not easily find another like me, I would advise you to spare me. I dare say that you may feel irritated at being suddenly awakened when you are caught napping; and you may think that if you were to strike me dead as Anytus advises, which you easily might, then you would sleep on for the remainder of your lives, unless God in his care of you gives you another gadfly. And that I am given to you by God is proved by this:—that if I had been like other men, I should not have neglected all my own concerns or patiently seen the neglect of them during all these years, and have been doing yours, coming to you individually like a father or elder brother, exhorting you to regard virtue; this, I say, would not be like human nature. And had I gained anything, or if my exhortations had been paid, there

would have been some sense in that; but now, as you will perceive, not even the impudence of my accusers dares to say that I have ever exacted or sought pay of any one; they have no witness of that. And I have a witness of the truth of what I say: my poverty is a sufficient witness.

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Well, Athenians, this and the like of this is nearly all the defence which I have to offer. Yet a word more. Perhaps there may be some one who is offended at me, when he calls to mind how he himself on a similar, or even a less serious occasion, had recourse to prayers and supplications with many tears, and how he produced his children in court, which was a moving spectacle, together with a posse of his relations and friends; whereas, I, who am probably in danger of my life, will do none of these things. Perhaps this may come into his mind, and he may be set against me, and vote in anger because he is displeased at this. Now if there be such a person among you, which I am far from affirming, I may fairly reply to him: My friend, I am a man, and like other men, a creature of flesh and blood, and not of wood or stone, as Homer says; and I have a family, yes, and sons, O Athenians, three in number, one of whom is growing up, and the two others are still young; and yet I will not bring any of them hither in order to petition you for an acquittal. And why not? Not from any self-will or disregard of you. Whether I am or am not afraid of death is another question, of which I will not now speak. But my reason simply is, that I feel such conduct to be discreditable to myself, and you, and the whole state. One who has reached my years, and who has a name for wisdom, whether deserved or not, ought not to demean himself. At any rate, the world has decided that Socrates is in some ways superior to other men. And if those among you who are said to be superior in wisdom and courage, and any other virtue, demean themselves in this way, how shameful is their conduct! I have seen men of reputation, when they have been condemned, behaving in the strangest manner: they seemed to fancy that they were going to suffer something dreadful if they died, and that they could be immortal if you only allowed them to live; and I think that they were a dishonor

to the state, and that any stranger coming in would say of them that the most eminent of Athens, to whom the Athenians themselves give honor and command, are no better than women. And I say that these things ought not to be done by those of us who are of reputation; and if they are done, you ought not to permit them; you ought rather to show that you are more inclined to condemn, not the man who is quiet, but the man who gets up a doleful scene, and makes the city ridiculous.

But, setting aside the question of dishonor, there seems to be something wrong in petitioning a judge, and thus procuring an acquittal instead of informing and convincing him. For his duty is, not to make a present of justice, but to give judgment; and he has sworn that he will judge according to the laws and not according to his own good pleasure; and neither he nor we should get into the habit of perjuring ourselves—there can be no piety in that. Do not then require me to do what I consider dishonorable and impious and wrong, especially now, when I am being tried for impiety on the indictment of Meletus. For if, O men of Athens, by force of persuasion and entreaty, I could overpower your oaths, then I should be teaching you to believe that there are no gods, and convict myself, in my own defence, of not believing in them. But that is not the case; for I do believe that there are gods, and in a far higher sense than that in which any of my accusers believe in them. And to you and to God I commit my cause, to be determined by you as is best for you and me."

*Jowett's Trans.

GREEK ART

I. Painting

GREEK painting was of three kinds: frescoes and easels, which were done by artists who took rank with Phidias and other leading sculptors; and vase paintings, done by craftsmen. Unfortunately the first two varieties have perished and are known to us only by descriptions and comments concerning them by classical writers.

It was after the Persian wars that the fine arts came to importance in Athens, although Pisistratus had earlier encouraged artists of various kinds at his court. The first painters are little known save for their names: Philokles, Kleanthes, Mandrokles, Eumares and Cimon of Cleonæ. It is with Polygnotus of Thasos, who made Athens his home, that painting became prominent. He decorated the Theseum with scenes from the hero's life and he it was whose frescoes gave the Painted Porch its name. One of its pictures was the *Sacking of Troy;* a poet's line that "all the Trojan war might be read in Cassandra's eyes" would indicate that in it this painter was absorbed, as ever, with mind. Other paintings in this stoa had to do with the battle of Marathon. For the Cnidians he accepted a commission of two paintings at Delphi: *The Return of the Greeks from Troy* and the *Visit of Odysseus to Hades.*

His later years were spent in making votive paintings for the Picture Gallery or wing of the Propylæa. It is believed that his work was largely colored designs rather than pictures as we think of them. His outlines were considered faultless and in perspective he is credited with having been first to raise distant figures and to have allowed the irregular contour of hills in the background to partly conceal some of his figures. Little more than a helmet of a soldier was visible in one instance.

Timanthes carried on the traditions of Polygnotus and

his *Sacrifice of Iphigenia* is said to have been most celebrated of ancient paintings.

Apollodorus gave attention to the use of light and shadow, yet of him Pliny said that he was but "a gatekeeper who threw open the gates of painting to famous artists who came after him."

Men of the fourth century permitted the mechanism of painting to dominate them. The photographic effects they strove to produce have made critics wonder whether or not the loss of their works has been such a misfortune as is generally supposed. The proud and haughty Zeuxis is related to have painted grapes so naturally that they seemed to be actually present; Parrhasius to have painted a curtain so realistic that it misled even Zeuxis; while Apelles, court painter to Alexander, according to tradition, made a picture of a horse that caused other horses to neigh. The probability is that all these stories merely exaggerated the realistic qualities of this school. Two subjects executed by Zeuxis were *The Centaurs* and *Prometheus.* He also painted a fanciful portrait of Helen of Troy, uniting the charms of five beautiful maidens of Crotona to set forth sufficiently the unrivaled beauty of the renowned wife of Menelaus.

Apelles alone was permitted to paint the portrait of Alexander the Great, which so gratified that monarch that he said there were two Alexanders: one, the son of Philip; the other, the creation of Apelles. His most celebrated picture was done for the Temple of Esculapius at Cos—*Aphrodite Rising from the Sea.* This was brought to Rome in the age of Augustus. Its voluptuous appeal is regarded as proof of the decline of fine art in Greece.

Apelles is thought to have influenced Botticelli in the choice of his well known picture of *Calumny,* Lucian having left the following description of Apelles' allegory *Slander.*

"On the right sits a man with long ears almost of the Midas pattern, stretching out a hand to Slander who is still some way off. About him are two females whom I take for Ignorance and Assumption. Slander, approaching from the left, is an extraordinarily beautiful woman, but with a heated, excitable air that suggests delusion and impulsive-

STAMNOS
Three Women Serving Wine

By courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

KRATER
Battle with Centaurs
Battle of Greeks and Amazons

ness; in her left hand is a lighted torch and with her right she is hauling a youth by the hair: he holds up his hands to heaven and calls the gods to witness his innocence. Showing Slander the way is a man with piercing eyes, but pale, deformed, and shrunken as from long illness; one may easily guess him to be Envy. Two female attendants encourage Slander, acting as tire-women and adding touches to her beauty; one of these is Malice, the other Deceit. Following behind in mourning guise, black robed and with torn hair comes Repentance. She looks tearfully behind her, awaiting shame-faced the approach of Truth."

There is lack of agreement as to whether or not Aristeides of Thebes or Philoxenus, a painter of battles, executed the original of which the mosaic found in the House of the Faun in Pompeii was a copy.

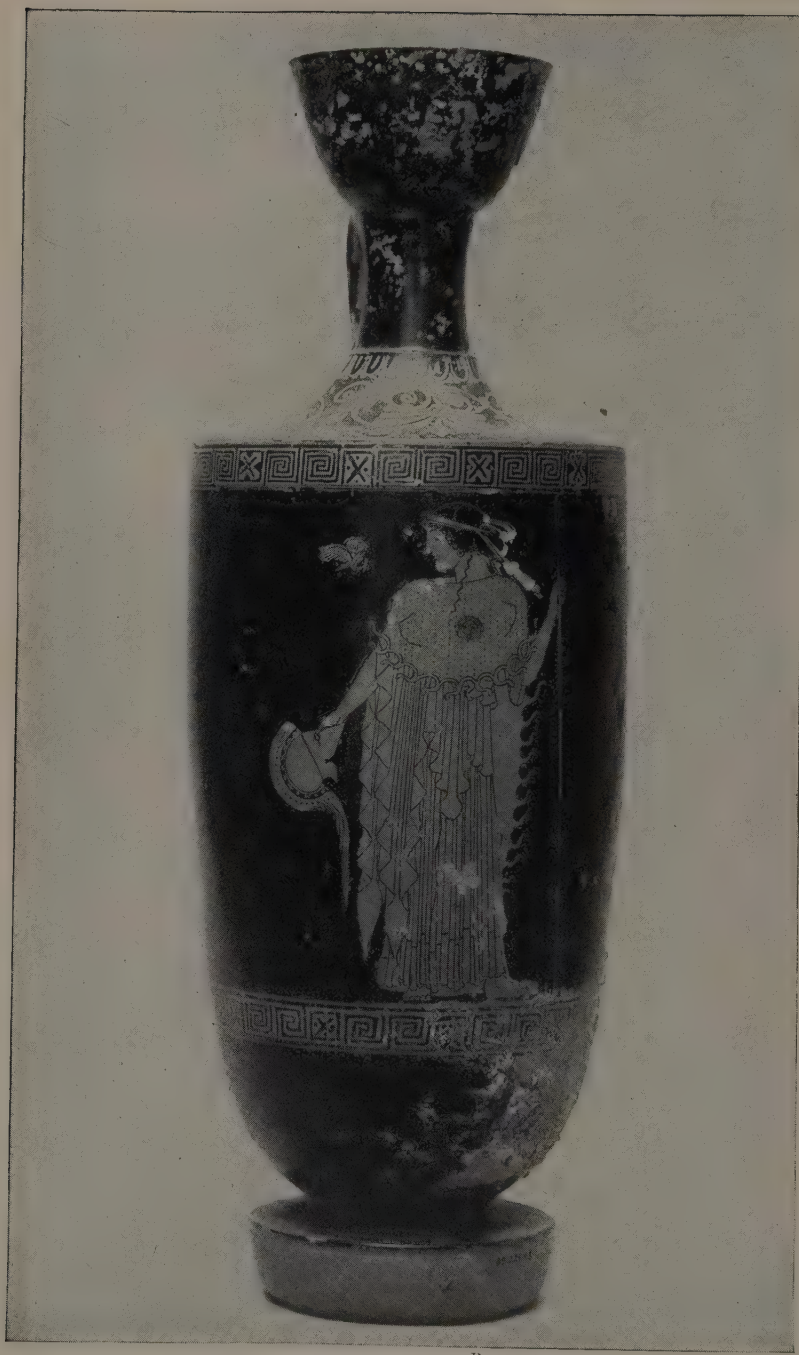
Far more satisfactory than such descriptions and traditions about painting which were lost in antiquity are the thousands upon thousands of painted vases which have been recovered in recent years. While the decoration which they bear was done by humble artisans of whom no classical writer deigned to make mention, the fact remains that here is to be found a reflection of the greater art from which these men drew their inspiration. Our word vase comes from the Latin *vasa,* meaning vessel; made of clay and fired, large numbers of them have escaped the ravages of time, or, if in fragments, are still highly prized. These clay vessels were given many shapes and served a variety of purposes. The amphora was a jar used to contain oil; made in large sizes and unadorned, it was commonly used to store grain, oil or other commodities. Decorated amphoræ were filled with oil from the sacred olive trees and given to victors at the festivals held in honor of Athena. The hydria, as its name suggests, was used for water; the krater, a large bowl wherein wine was mixed with water; the lekythos was tall and slender and was used often as a funerary offering. Many kinds of drinking bowls were made, the kylix and kantharos popular among them.

All these vessels of varying sizes and shapes were continually in use and the production of such pottery was from early times one of the principal occupations in several Hel-

lenic cities. By the fifth century Athens had brought her ceramics to such perfection that she had outdistanced all her rivals and, besides a large home consumption, there was an extensive export trade in these wares. Her beautifully painted jars and bowls were in demand throughout the civilized world. Especially was there a considerable market for certain types of them in Etruria where they were entombed with the dead. When in modern times many of them were recovered in excavated tombs they were known as Etruscan vases until further investigation proved them to be of Greek origin.

In the potters' quarter there were many factories where clay vessels were made. In the smallest only a few were employed: the unskilled workmen preparing the clay, freeing it from impurities and otherwise making it ready for those who molded it with the potter's wheel; the base and handles were separately molded and affixed while the clay was wet. After drying, the jar was ready for the painter who with a fine brush and a free hand drawing outlined the design and figures, after which others less resourceful could fill in the background. The firing was in the hands of men who did little else. Finally the bowl was ready for market. It often received two distinct marks, one indicating he who *made* it, the other he who *painted* it. The proprietor was as a rule capable of performing all divisions of the work and might both make and decorate it, although this was not usual. In some factories large forces were employed, both free and slave labor working without difficulty side by side. Paintings on different vases have pictured all parts of the manufacture of these wares, so that it is possible to follow the steps from the washing of the clay to the exhibition of the article for sale and even the inspection of prospective customers.

The earlier vases bear figures done in black while the natural color of the baked clay furnished the background; those of later and more advanced times show the reverse: the figures outlined in finely painted black lines otherwise being the red of burned clay, and the background filled in with rich, velvety black. The composition of this black paint is unknown. After the surrender of Athens to Sparta in



By courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

GREEK LEKYTHOS: FIGURE OF ATHENA

404 B. C. with its accompanying destruction of the potters' quarters it would seem that the art of preparing this black paint was lost and when the handicraft was later revived an inferior substance was used.

More than fifty thousand Greek vases have been recovered; the Louvre possesses over six thousand; the British Museum over five thousand; while every museum the world over has some among its treasures.

The names of perhaps one hundred makers and painters of these vessels are known today. While Douris both made and painted them, he signed as painter twenty-eight of those now known; Hieron signed twenty; Brygos, eight; Euthymides, seven; Euphronius, ten. Metics were largely engaged in making pottery as is indicated in the names—often merely indicating whence they came, as Lydos, the Lydian; Thrax, he of Thrace, etc. That these men were of humble birth and simple training is evident; some could not properly spell the name of their employer. The painters were the most skilled employes of the factory; some of these were creative and their paintings show stages of development from mediocre designs to those of excellence; some remained indifferent in ability.

The subjects used in vase decoration were mythological, military, and scenes from everyday life.

Douris has been called the Raphael of Greek vase painting. His masterpiece is today in the Louvre and is known as the Eos and Memnon ceramic. Memnon was killed by Achilles and his dead body was borne away by his grieving mother, Eos, the Dawn. This picture is described by Pottier in his masterly book on Douris and we cannot do better than to quote his words: "It consoles us somewhat for the loss of so many masterpieces, and we cannot suppose that a potter, working alone in his workshop, invented this first Mater Dolorosa, which is as touching as a Mantegna or a Roger Van der Weyden. Nowhere is a copy from a great painting more forcibly evident. Every one must be impressed by the striking resemblance of this Pagan and Greek creation to the emblem that has moved Christian souls for so many centuries. Eos, standing with outstretched and beating wings, bends toward the dead face of

her son Memnon, her strained arms supporting his rigid body. The goddess, who represents radiant morning and the promises of Nature awakening with the dawn, is here simply a despairing mother imprinting on her mind with one long look the beloved features she will see no more; the contrast is profoundly sad, and a creation worthy of a great poet. The body of the powerful prince of the Ethiopians, the ally of Priam, is entirely nude as it was taken up on the battlefield where his adversary Achilles had robbed him of his armor. The stiff legs are stretched out, the left foot still contracted with pain, the arms swing limply, the head drops, while the disheveled hair, the delicate beard, and the closed eyes arouse an irresistible memory of the dead Christ. We have a true *Pieta* before our eyes.

"What a miracle in art, what unexpected chance unites Pagan and Christian art to express the same thought, in the same form? Is it not a proof that across the centuries great artists share the same thoughts, and to express the emotions of life create a universal language?"[1]

Military scenes are sometimes concerned with the donning the armor prior to battle or to a duel between two warriors. Scenes of daily life were found in the gymnasia, in the school room, at the banquet, musical contests—a wide variety of themes constantly suggesting themselves.

The rounded surfaces which the vase painters had to decorate compelled them to adapt rather than imitate. Of the fifty thousand vases recovered no two are exactly alike. So creative were the Greeks that even the artisan transformed ideas that he received and expressed them with individuality. We know that in the fifth and fourth centuries fine specimens of sculpture were ever before the people and it was inevitable that such models should continually influence the taste of even the humblest workmen. Further, in antiquity there was no such distinction between the skilled and unskilled labor on temple, entablature or vase. The wages of all laborers were the same; all bent their endeavors toward the effect desired, details were not accentuated; everything became subservient to the work as a whole.

KRATER
Youth Playing Lyre

By courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

AMPHORA

Many details of Hellenic life have been revealed to us through the scenes on Greek vases; as a source of social history they have proved most valuable. As a substitute for other evidences of Greek painting, while by no means what we would choose, in lieu of anything else they become helpful and stimulating. No description of them can take the place of studying them first hand; since museums in America now own fine collections of them, it is possible to become familiar with them in our own land.

[1] Pottier: *Douris and Painters of Greek Vases*, p. 50.

II. Sculpture

Accustomed as we are to art separated by a wide gulf from the concerns of daily life, we are likely to forget that no such separation existed in ancient Greece. As a race the Hellenes were peculiarly sensitive to beauty. For this reason all that pertained to them partook of this quality: their songs and dances, their plays, temples, their very language itself, were all touched with this transforming beauty. The fine feeling of the people required it in their every expression. Many a poor play was hissed from the stage and many an orator laughed to scorn for errors in use of his mother tongue. A situation such as exists today, where ugliness surrounds people on every hand and the artistic is to be seen only when periodic visits may be made to art galleries would have been both inexplainable and intolerable to the Hellenes.

"Their art was not the concern of a special class of artists and writers out of sympathy with the life and the interests of ordinary men. There were no cliques of artists who carried on a special and esoteric cult; Greek art was truly national. And however deeply interested the artist was in the technique of his art, his eye was first of all on his subject-matter; for it was that which first attracted his fellow-countrymen. . . . We must not forget in our interest in the technique of Greek art that the Greek artist would have forfeited the approval of his public if he had given all his attention to technique or had made his art the vehicle of personal whims that were not within the com-

prehension of the average citizen. Art was a part of life."[1]

Due to an unusual atmospheric condition in Greece, form is accentuated rather than color. Combined with this natural condition so stimulating to sculpture, remarkable opportunities existed in ancient Greece for acquiring a knowledge of the human body. Physical development received persistent attention, and all clothing being discarded in gymnasium, palæstra and athletic contests, the sculptor became, almost unconsciously, familiar with the play of muscles in every position and under a variety of exertions. Healthy, agile, graceful bodies were demanded in Greece as in no other land, before or since. It was not enough that the victor in athletic sports be strong and well trained; he must be graceful as well.

It is customary to divide Greek sculpture into three general periods: the archaic, prior to 500 B. C.; the age of mastery, including the fifth and fourth centuries; and the Hellenistic period.

Such fragments of statuary as survived the destruction of the Persians when they laid Athens waste were hastily collected and built into the ramparts with which the people surrounded their city after their return, following the expulsion of the army of the Great King. Modern excavations have brought some of these to light and they are now exhibited in the Museum of Athens. It is apart from our purposes to inquire into the characteristics of these primitive efforts, interesting as they may be for the modern sculptor. The Greeks were no exception to the rest of mankind in having to labor for generations to free themselves from the stiffness and awkwardness that invariably marks the first attempts of a people to express themselves in sculpture.

Greek temples were originally built of sun-dried brick and had wooden supports or pillars. It so happened that when Pausanius visited Greece in the second century of our era he saw the old temple of Hera at Olympia which had once had wooden pillars. These were replaced by stone as they gave way, and only one remained at the time. We have noted that the cult statue of Athena was of wood and that no later one was permitted to take its place in the hearts of

the Athenians, regardless of the fact that a splendid new temple—the Parthenon—was raised to the honor of the goddess and that Phidias expended his best efforts in creating the wonderful statue of gold and ivory which he and Pericles apparently hoped might supersede the other.

After the victory over Persia the genius of the Greeks asserted itself in the fine arts, as in other directions. Part of the spoils were used to make a statue of Apollo at Delphi; bronze statues of Athena in Athens, Poseidon at Corinth and Zeus at Olympia were done almost immediately. Temples were built throughout Greece; we have seen how important they were regarded in Athens. The typical Greek temple required the work of the sculptor to complete it. First, the structure existed primarily to shelter the cult statue; then the pediments, metopes and frieze gave scope for his abilities.

In the chapter on the Acropolis[x] attention has already been called to the work of Phidias and the sculptures of the Parthenon. His great contemporaries were Myron and Polycleitus, both of whom worked largely in bronze. Myron made many statues of athletes. None have come down to us but his famous *Discus Thrower* is preserved through Roman copies. He excelled in catching the spirit of action and showing it forth in his creations. Polycleitus was a native of the Peloponnesus, but, like Myron, followed the traditions of Argolis. He made a statue of Hera for her temple in Argos which was mentioned as comparable to the work of Phidias. Many athletic figures were done by him, being shown in repose rather than action. His *Wounded Amazon* is preserved in a copy now in Berlin.

Although rated high by their contemporaries, it is plain that neither of these fifth century sculptors ever idealized their work or gave dignity to their statues as did Phidias. Of his statue of Zeus at Olympia one who saw it said: "However sick and weary in soul a man may be, if he do but stand before this image, he will, I deem, forget all the terrors and troubles of human life."

Three names stand out beyond others for the fourth century, likewise: Praxiteles of Athens, Scopas of Paros and Lycippus, son of Myron. The greatest reward of Ger-

man excavations in 1877 at Olympia was finding the Hermes of Praxiteles—the young god holding the infant Dionysus on his arm. A satyr supposed to be his work inspired Hawthorne's *Marble Faun.* No other sculptor possessed the charm of Praxiteles, although he had many followers.

Lycippus was court sculptor to Alexander; he worked mostly in bronze and had a creative genius which places him among the greatest artists of all time. Scopas is remembered for his work on the Mausoleum or tomb erected in Halicarnassus in memory of Mausolus,[y] a satrap of a Persian province. This costly memorial was raised by his wife and the most renowned sculptors of the age were called to have a part in its remarkable sculptures. The fragments of this tomb—which has given the name to costly and elaborate structures of the kind ever since—are in the British Museum and bear the relation to the fourth century that the Elgin Marbles[y] hold for the fifth. An earthquake in the twelfth century did something to destroy it and far worse, the Knights of St. John demolished it in the fourteenth to obtain material for their castle; lacking lime, they burned over thirty of its beautiful statues to procure it!

The Hellenistic period evinced a striving for pleasing effects rather than the sincerity of the great age which preceded it. Yet there were many fine statues executed, such as the *Victory of Samothrace.* The *Venus de Milo* belongs to this period. A school of sculptors arose in Rhodes, their most noted work being the *Laokoön,* recovered in Rome during the sixteenth century. Probably no other group ever called forth more criticism, favorable and the reverse. By modern critics its theme is generally regarded as ill suited to marble. Some, on the contrary, profess deep admiration for it.

Fragments from Pergamum have been recovered in modern times by the Germans. As we have already seen,[z] this city of Asia Minor was the center of much cultural interest during the Hellenistic period.

In 1887 there was discovered a subterranean chamber on the site of ancient Sidon which contained sixteen sarcophagi belonging to different periods. One was Egyptian; several

were Greek. One is known now as the Sarcophagus of Weeping Women because its sides bear eighteen female figures each betraying grief. This appears to have been done during the fruitful fifth century. Another is known as the Tomb of Alexander, not because it ever belonged to the great conqueror; it may have been executed for one of his generals. But on its side is carved the Battle of Issus and the young king is depicted among the figures. This is the glory of the Museum of Constantinople, where all these sarcophagi are to be seen. Not only is the carving of a high order, but it afforded a superb example of the harmony obtained by employing marble as a background while colors were delicately used. This custom was continually followed by the Greeks, although foreign to modern art.

A simple fragment of Greek sculpture may convey more to the observer than a library of descriptive material. In lieu of this, it is possible now to obtain photographs and prints that bring the development of sculpture clearly before one. The spirit of each century was caught by these workers in marble and this aspect of art is emphasized by Faure in his volume on Ancient Art. The superficial tone fostered by tyranny is crystallized in the fragments belonging to the age of Pisistratus; the expression of democracy was wholly unlike that of aristocratic Greece, while Hellenistic marbles could not have been produced under the spell of Phidias. To make an exhaustive study of this great subject would require much time and examination of the productions of each age; our concern with Greek art is to estimate aright its relationship to other branches of Hellenic expression and to pave the way for deeper investigation on the part of those whose enthusiasm is kindled for further knowledge.

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1 Greene: *Achievement of Greece*, p. 101.
x See Part III, p. 642.
y See Part III, p. 642.
z See Chapter VI.

THE DEBT OF MODERN CIVILIZATION TO GREECE

ADEQUATELY to indicate our debt to ancient Greece would mean the retelling of her story; it would be difficult to over-estimate the bequests which the torch-bearers of Hellas handed along in the unending race of progress. As we have traced the steps by which democracy was won in this little peninsula of southern Europe, it has been plain that here are to be found the roots of modern government by, for and of the people. When an idea is born into the world, it is bound to live on, and our savants are still engaged upon studies which the Greeks began.

Beyond any question our obligation to Athens is greater than to any or all of the other Hellenic states. Yet it is not to be forgotten that in Asia Minor the epics and philosophy had their beginnings; the lyric flowered in Lesbos; Herodotus was a Carian; Aristotle was born in Macedonia. The sea-port of Athens was laid out by an architect from Miletus; several of the philosophers came from Italy, and Theocritus lived mostly in Sicily. Thus it is plain that Athens was the melting-pot of Hellas, we often crediting her with all that she attracted to herself. Were our records as complete for other states as for Attica we might be able to separate Greek contributions, assigning to each a fair proportion.

Because of our faith in democracy and our pride in our own republic, we like to dwell with the liberty-loving Athenians and follow their blunders and successes as they left kings far behind and won full citizenship even for the Thetes. Yet we must remember that all Hellenes loved liberty. Otherwise, when Athens had taken over the policing of the seas, relieving the insular states of the responsibility of individual protection against Persia, charging them only a small per cent of what such patrol must have aggregated,

they would have acquiesced instead of chafed under a control that lessened in any degree their earlier freedom.

Some states were less irritable under restraint than others; for example, the Hellenes of Asia Minor willingly paid a reasonable tribute to Lydia to be otherwise free to carry on trade. There were those even in Athens who would have hampered freedom of thought. Else it would not have been decreed at the time of Anaxagoras that it was unlawful for anyone "to have his own mind about the heavenly bodies." This element in Attica that held tenaciously to the past has its counterpart in our land today, now as always it would stone the prophets and condemn the reformer. We have already seen that both the *scientist,* in his quest for truth, knowing no fetters or bonds, and the *conservative,* fearful lest the relaxation of tradition may work ill, are both necessary—the one to carry progress farther; the other to check undue and hasty revolution.

In Athenian government and its administration, we found the birth of democracy, with its general assembly, its boule, and various boards; with courts of justice and jurors.

Concerning education, the elementary schools of Greece have been noted, with opportunity for youths to continue mental and physical training until regular military duty called them at the age of eighteen; for adults, the theater, the halls of music, the festivals, with their attendant contests and entertainment, both instructive and diverting.

Against such highly developed institutions, we must place that of slavery; the discrimination against metics that obtained in later years; and also the seclusion of women, with their utter lack of mental discipline; these constitute the dark side of the picture.

In the realm of literature those who today enjoy history should remember that the Greeks were first to write it; as they were first to inscribe beautiful poems and earliest to develop oratory and biography.

In architecture and sculpture the ruins surviving give inspiration and light to those who do creative work in the domain of fine arts today. The matchless vases that were

the common task of the craftsman are cherished by the great museums of the world, and if recovered in fragments, no trouble is deemed too great to restore as far as possible the treasured vessels.

Concerning the theater and the fundamentals of drama even our vocabulary comes to us from Athens. How great a debt posterity owes in the dramatic field would be hard to tell.

Speaking of science, one has tersely said: Our first debt to them in this field is that they invented it. That might be repeated of philosophy and of nearly all our literary forms. In medicine and in mathematics their contributions were considerable.

It is to no small extent that we are obligated to them for making athletic sports wholesome and attractive; and for setting the example of nationwide enthusiasm over athletic contests. Those who are trained to fair play in stadiums are likely to uphold it in other walks of life.

If in imagination one were to eliminate from present day life all that the Greeks first conceived and put into practice, much that we hold dear would be lost. *Love of the beautiful; the golden mean; know thyself; man the measure of all things*—just an enumeration of their common sayings is illuminating.

It were possible to go back of these later developments and stand on the field of Marathon and by the sea at Salamis, recalling the struggle fought against heavy odds, when Europe was saved from the galling yoke of Persian despotism. Which brings us once more back to our first statement: that in order to justly estimate the great gifts of the Hellenes to the world, which were scattered in the age of Alexander and his successors throughout civilized lands, and which were preserved in these for hundreds of years, it is needful to start with the beginnings and retell the tale. In the Middle Ages, the recovery of fragments of Greek statuary and the discovery of certain Greek writings in lands contacted by the crusaders—the very possession once more of these testimonies of early Greek culture precipitated the Renaissance in Europe. Petrarch carried around Greek books which he was unable to translate and

was inspired by what he could learn about them to undertake his own literary achievements.

Volumes are today written to explain the influence of the Elgin Marbles on Keats; of Greek poetry upon Milton and Tennyson; of Hellenic verse and prose upon the great writers of modern times throughout Europe, while Phidias is still classed as the master sculptor.

How, then, could it be possible to characterize the debt the modern world owes to Hellas and to Hellenes?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE last few years have witnessed another Greek revival, of which the world has seen not a few. Cretan discoveries of the first years in the twentieth century proved that European culture had its birth in that island—today little noted except by antiquarians. Problems which had long seemed incapable of solution became suddenly illuminated, and Greek scholars were thereby inspired to write of different aspects of Hellenic life until dozens of volumes have been forthcoming, for the most part addressed to the average reader rather than the specialist. These have a common purpose in seeking to stimulate in the public generally an interest in Hellenic culture, which lies at the root of our own.

However, it scarcely need be said that it is one thing to be aware of a people and the general trend of their development, and quite another to possess an extended acquaintance with what they actually thought and the way in which they expressed themselves. Familiarity with the Greeks can be derived only through a study of such writings as they left us. Knowledge of world literature is too often today gained through critical writers who summarize and abstract it and too seldom acquired first hand, from the literature itself.

The enthusiasm of Greek scholars is likely to be contagious; they are frequently instructors in our various schools and universities and accustomed to impart a knowledge of the classics to students—which experience leads them to understand how essential are clarity and simplicity in inculcating learning. The helpful books they have latterly produced lead us into a study of ancient Greece and aflame us to press on farther in our quest of exploration amid the survivals of that early people, tireless in their search for truth. Having gained a general conception of the steps by which they attained a civilization which still in many directions fixes the standard by which we judge

subsequent accomplishment, it is highly desirable that we turn to their illustrious writers and enjoy them to the full. The only possible way to know Homer is by reading the Iliad and the Odyssey, preferably aloud. For hundreds of years they delighted those who listened to them, recited first by minstrels and then by those trained to properly enunciate them. Numerous translations are now available. We recommend those supplied by the Loeb Library—both of these poems being done into English by Dr. A. T. Murray. Andrew Lang's translations are always pleasing. He has rendered the Iliad into our tongue and the Odyssey has been done by Butcher. Dr. George Palmer has translated the Odyssey; Arthur Way has put both books into verse.

Several versions of Greek plays are now procurable. Those translated by Gilbert Murray are a joy. He is sometimes accused of giving us more finished and poetical productions than exist in the Greek. Such a fault—if fault it be—is to be condoned in view of the wearisome renderings that have been perpetrated in the past.

Jowett has done monumental work in translating Thucydides and Plato into acceptable and scholarly English.

The time has passed when dull, dry translations of Greek writers, set in small type and suggestive of a penal sentence, need longer turn aside the general reader, whose interest must be sustained if a work is to be perused to the end.

Certain collections are useful to one who would become familiar with Greek literature in English—notably *The Greek and Roman Classics,* issued in fifteen volumes, of which seven are concerned with Greece.

APHORISMS OF EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHERS

Thales

He said also that there was no difference between life and death. "Why, then," said some one to him, "do not you die?" "Because," said he, "it does make no difference."

When asked how men might live most virtuously and most justly, he said, "If we never do ourselves what we blame in others."

* * * * *

Solon

Laws are like cobwebs: if anything small or weak falls into them, they hold it fast; if of any size, it breaks the meshes and escapes.

When asked how public wrongs could be prevented, he answered, "If those not injured feel as much resentment as those who are."

* * * * *

Chilo

Visit your friends more promptly in adversity than in prosperity.

Do not deride any one in misfortune.

* * * * *

Pittacus

Do not tell your designs beforehand: you will be laughed at if you fail.

Forbear to speak evil not only of your friends, but your enemies.

* * * * *

Bias

The hardest thing is to bear a change of fortune for the worse with magnanimity.

He said he would rather be umpire between his enemies than his friends, "For out of two friends I am sure to make one enemy; while out of two enemies I stand to make one friend."

Eighth Month

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AMERICA IN ANCIENT ROME

ITALY is one of the most universally visited countries of Europe, and Rome is the most universally visited of Italian cities. The steady stream of more or less independent travellers of all nations through autumn, winter, and spring has in recent years been continued through the summer season by the voluminous stream of Americans making Europe's acquaintance in touring parties.

These transients of summer and winter, however, do not represent the total American interest in Rome. The settled and permanent American population of Italy's capital is always a surprise. It comprises American women who have married into Italian families, and American families who have invested in homes: it includes clergymen, teachers, scholars, artists, diplomats, and regular annual visitors. The American traveller who wishes only Roman experience in Rome may easily find himself involved in so many social obligations as to endanger his purpose.

There are many reasons why Americans go to Italy. We may single out the four or five which are of greatest effect.

There is, first, the mere physical charm of Italian landscape and climate. "Beautiful is Italy," writes Andrew Lang to Horace, in *Letters to Dead Authors*—"beautiful is Italy, with the delicate outlines of her sacred hills, her dark groves, her little cities perched like eyries on the crags, her rivers gliding under ancient walls: beautiful is Italy, her seas and her suns."

Second, there is the cultural richness of her cities. "Here everything betrays the work of generation after generation of ingenious men," says Leo of one of them. "Like a water-lily rising on the mirror of the lake, so rests on this lovely ground the still more lovely Florence, with its everlasting works and its inexhaustible riches. . . . Each

street of Florence contains a world of art; the walls of the city are the calyx containing the fairest flowers of the human mind;—and this is but the richest gem in the diadem with which the Italian people have adorned the earth." The riches of Rome are less than the riches of Florence only for the Renaissance; in total range and significance, Rome surpasses not only Florence but every other city in the world. It contains monuments of every period from its founding to the actual present, and these monuments represent not only the history of Rome but the history of European civilization.

In the third place, there is the religious reason. Rome is the seat of the Church's visible head, the capital of Christendom. The faithful visit Rome in the spirit of pilgrimage, the indifferent and the skeptical because of the historical fascination of a city and institution which for upwards of two thousand years have been the center of the occidental world's intellectual and spiritual interest.

Fourthly, speaking in the broad sense of the word, there is the social reason. So many people visit Italy and Rome, so many books have been written about them, and so many returned travellers are set apart by the fact of having seen the Coliseum and the Forum, Saint Peter's and the Vatican, and perhaps the Vicar of Christ himself, that many for whom an Italian experience exercises no other appeal will extend their tour to include Rome because their fellows have done so.

Lastly, there is the scholar's and artist's reason, or what might be called the creative reason as distinguished from the merely cultural. There is a considerable number of historians, archæologists, poets, essayists, novelists, musicians, artists, and students of the arts who find Italian themes attractive, and Italian residence indispensable to the deepest inspiration and the finest execution.

In an appraisal of America's contribution to the world's knowledge of ancient Rome, it is the class represented by this last reason that we must take into account. The other four classes are not without importance as background or support, but it is the creative class, the scholar and the artist of pen, brush, chisel, and blueprint, in which

America's intellectual effort in Italy has attained to realization.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries are not the first period in which foreign intellectual effort has been exerted in Italy. Since the time of Augustus and before, Italy and Rome have been a land and city of monuments, the goal of intellectual and spiritual pilgrimage. Especially in the thirteenth century, however, when the light of the Renaissance was breaking, and in the succeeding two hundred years, when art and learning were at their greatest exuberance, did Italy become the active center and source of culture. The universities of Salerno, Bologna, and Padua during that period were to all Europe what the German universities of the nineteenth century were to all the world. Italian architecture, sculpture, painting, letters, manners, and professional learning spread themselves over the face of the continent and to the British Isles. One has only to think of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton, of Corneille, Racine, Montaigne, and Molière, of Rubens, of Ribera, of Saint Paul's in London and the castle at Heidelberg, to realize the extent and the durability of the influence which emanated from Italy of the Renaissance.

In the course of time, however, partly from natural exhaustion, partly as a result of the distractions of Reformation and counter-Reformation, partly because of the presence of foreign powers, the great creative movement in Italy came to an end. For three hundred years after the sack of Rome in 1527 by Charles the Fifth's army under the Constable of Bourbon, Italy was never clear of the German, French, Spanish, or Austrian presence. The political prestige of both pope and Italian prince declined, and Italy became a land of petty rulers oppressing or misgoverning their own territories while owing their existence and continuance in authority to the favor of European states. From undisputed primacy in all the arts of civilization, Italy passed to a period of stagnation. She was indeed not without her scholastic activities, and the Church was energetic in world propaganda, spreading her missions over the Americas and the far East. There were inspiring innovations in music which placed the world forever in

Italy's debt; Palestrina and the rise of church music and opera belong to this period. On the whole, however, these centuries were comparatively barren of creative impulse, whether on the part of native Italian or visitor. Rome especially, the capital of a little Italian princedom under an autocratic papal master who was dependent upon the good will of European monarchs, became the mere goal of travel and pilgrimage.

When the period of stagnation began to give place to renewed activity, the new interest was more or less coincident with the national movement in Europe. Whether nationalism stimulated intellectual interest, or intellectual interest was the inspiration of nationalism, or both were the natural manifestations of renewed vigor, need not be debated. The fact is that both native Italian genius, as in Manzoni, Alfieri, Leopardi, Goldoni, Canova, Bellini, and Donizetti, and foreign genius, as in Winckelmann, Lessing, Goethe, and Thorwaldsen, began to manifest themselves during the hundred years immediately preceding and following Napoleon and the French national movement, whose influence was soon felt in Italy, and encouraged, if it did not originate, the Italian rise against foreign domination.

Since the beginning of Italy's struggle for independence from the Bourbons in the south, the Austrians in the north, and the Church in the center, which covered roughly the fifty years from 1820 to the entry into Rome in 1870, the history of intellectual activity in Italy has been starred by many foreign names. A roll of those who have either lived and worked in Italy, or have employed Italian history, art, or life as the stuff of their creations, or have been manifestly inspired by passing sojourns, includes, among Americans, such names as Edward Everett, Longfellow, Buchanan Read, Lowell, Hawthorne, Bayard Taylor, Theodore Parker, George William Curtis, Crawford and Story the sculptors, Crawford the novelist, Elihu Vedder the painter, Charles Eliot Norton, Donald Mitchell, W. D. Howells; among English, the Brownings, Landor, Tennyson, Meredith, Bryce, Trevelyan, Symonds, Shelley, Keats; among Frenchmen, Chateaubriand, Guizot, Ampere, Duchesne;

among Germans, Mommsen, Gregorovious, Ranke; among Scandinavians, Ibsen.

The above names represent for the most part individual effort; but there were other consequences than the immediate results of this effort. The presence in Italy of so many scholars, authors, and artists, with the conviction they carried away regarding the benefits of residence in Italy, resulted finally in the formation of academic societies on the part of their various nations. The French Academy, which indeed had been founded long ago by Louis the Fourteenth in 1666, was transferred in 1803 from the Palazzo Salviati on the Corso, where it had been housed from 1725 to 1803, to begin a new existence in its present home in the Villa Medici. The German Archæological Institute, until the recent war, occupied quarters on the Capitoline Hill built in 1874-6 by the German government. Besides these, there have gradually come into being other learned societies, until today few of the advanced countries of Europe are unrepresented, and America itself has its academic bodies in Italy. There were in existence, at the beginning of the great war, the French Academy of Art, the French Institute of Archæology, the German Institute, the Spanish Academy, the Spanish Historical Society, the American Academy, and the British Academy. Since the war, the Dutch Institute of Archæology has been added, and Roumania has embarked in a like movement. These bodies, together with others of less name and, with Italian organizations private and national, include the main activities in art and archæology representing modern interest in ancient Rome.

If we confine our attention now to American effort, we shall understand both the significance of our national life in Rome and the general working of scholarly enterprise in Italy, and shall realize the importance of an appreciative attitude toward the institution that more than anything else represents us there.

American scholarship was somewhat more tardy in participation in the serious study of ancient Rome than other great nations. America in the nineteenth century was occupied with her own destinies, besides being remote and,

in the affairs of intellect, bred to the habit of receiving rather than giving. Her libraries were undeveloped, and her universities had no traditions in archæological and art study, to say nothing of the unfamiliarity of the American people with the monuments of antiquity. If we are to look for a beginning, it may be seen in the work of John Izard Middleton entitled, not quite correctly, *Grecian Remains in Italy,* published in 1812. Mr. Middleton was a gentleman of intellectual interests who may be called America's first classical archæologist. His work consisted of descriptions of Cyclopean walls and Roman antiquities, accompanied by original sketches done in 1808 and 1809.

Middleton's work was isolated. Not counting the many who spent short periods in Italy for recreation or general cultivation, the next important name is that of Charles Eliot Norton. With him began a movement whose consequences are a wonderful monument to personal vision and enthusiasm.

Mr. Norton was born in 1827 and died in 1908. He numbered among his friends Clough, Morris, Burne-Jones, Ruskin, Carlyle, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Parkman. He entered Harvard at fourteen, graduated at nineteen with the class of 1846, and at the age of about twenty-three, in the employ of the East India Company, made a voyage to India, returning by way of Egypt and Italy, afterward going into business. In 1855-7 he visited Europe again, spending the winter months principally in Rome. The result of this was the volume called *Travel and Study in Italy,* published in 1860, and Dante's *Vita Nuova* in English. Mr. Norton had been a contributor to the first number of the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1857, and wrote also for the *North American Review,* becoming later Mr. Lowell's assistant on that periodical. In the autumn and winter evenings of 1865 and 1866, in company with Lowell, he listened to Longfellow's confidential reading of his Dante translation. In 1868 he went a third time to Europe, where he remained for five years, the first part of the time in Italy and the remainder in Germany and England, where he became acquainted with Carlyle and Mrs. Gaskell. In 1875

he was made professor of the Fine Arts at Harvard, a chair which he occupied until 1897.

Great, however, as was Mr. Norton's contribution to American culture in the translation of Dante, in his occupation of the first chair of the Fine Arts in Harvard, and in his other written work, it is hardly to be doubted that his greatest service to American intellectual life will prove to have been his founding, in 1879, of the Archæological Institute of America. This was the consequence of his visit to Egypt and Italy in 1851, the sojourns of 1855-7 and 1868 in Italy, and of a naturally catholic taste in art and intellect. Mr. Norton had the vision of a more enlightened teaching of the classics and art in America that should result from the stimulation of American scholars by participation in the archæological enterprises of European scholarship.

The Institute proved its earnestness immediately by organizing an expedition to excavate at Assos in Asia Minor, and almost at the same time by founding the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. The committee appointed in 1881 provided for the opening of the School in the autumn of 1882. Scant as were its equipment and means, it was characterized from the first by independence and initiative. In 1882-3 volume 1 of its papers appeared, contributed by Louis Vevier, H. N. Fowler, J. R. Wheeler, W. W. Goodwin, and J. R. Sterrett. In 1885 the Institute began the publication of the *American Journal of Classical Archæology,* in 1886 it discussed plans for an expedition to Cyrene or Magna Græcia under Joseph T. Clarke, who had directed the work at Assos, and in the same year it inaugurated the practice of sending out lecturers to keep the American public in touch with archæological effort. Rodolfo Lanciani of Rome and Charles Waldstein were the first lecturers for the Institute. In 1886-7 Messrs. Clarke and Emerson excavated the temple of Hera at Cotrone in southern Italy. In 1889 the School at Athens engaged in excavations at Sicyon near Corinth, and in 1888 secured permission of the Greek government to excavate at Platæa, Anthedon, and Thisbe. In 1890 the excavation of Delphi was proposed. Upwards of thirty thousand dollars was

subscribed for this enterprise in Boston and Cambridge alone, but the great privilege was finally secured for French scholarship by the French government. In 1891 the School was active at Eretria, and obtained permission to work for seven years at Amyclæ and Sparta. In 1892 it began the important excavation of the Argive Heræum. In 1893 the Institute commissioned the Italian archæologist Halbherr to explore in Crete.

Meanwhile, such was the inspiration of these activities in Greece that Rome had begun to occupy the thoughts of Latin classicists. In May, 1894, a committee of the Institute was appointed to form plans for similar effort in Italy, and in 1895-6 the work of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome was inaugurated. For the first year, William Gardner Hale was director and Arthur L. Frothingham, Jr., assistant director, with William K. Denison and Walter Dennison as Institute fellows, and Walter Lowrie as fellow in Christian archæology. The American School of Architecture, founded in 1894, now proposed a union with the School of Classical Studies, which during the first year had shared its quarters in the Villa dell' Aurora. The School of Classical Studies was unable to accept the proposal, and occupied quarters in Via Gaeta 2, where it remained until 1901, when it transferred its seat to a villa in Via Vicenza. The directors from 1895 to 1899 were W. G. Hale, Minton Warren, C. L. Smith, and Tracy Peck. In 1899 Richard Norton was appointed for five years, and in 1904 re-appointed. In 1907 Mr. Norton resigned and was succeeded by Jesse Benedict Carter of Princeton, who remained director of the School of Classical Studies until its formal union with the American Academy in Rome on February 11, 1913.

This union, as we have seen, had been proposed in 1896 by the American School of Architecture, but found inadvisable. Meanwhile the American School of Architecture had been succeeded by the American Academy in Rome, incorporated by Congress March 3, 1905, "for the purpose of establishing and maintaining an institution to promote the study and practice of the fine arts and to aid and stimulate the education and training of architects, painters,

sculptors, and other artists." Among the fine galaxy of names composing its body corporate and politic were those of Edwin Abbey, Edwin Blashfield, Daniel French, John LaFarge, Frederick MacMonnies, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and Charles F. McKim, whose enthusiasm had been the moving factor in the foundation of the School of Architecture in 1894. By 1912 the sentiment for consolidation of the two schools had so increased as to be irresistible, especially as the generosity of Mr. Morgan made a fine Academy building possible. The American School now owned property amounting to one hundred thousand dollars, and the Academy nine hundred thousand dollars, together with the Villa Aurelia, bequeathed by Mrs. Heyland, a beautiful property, rich in historical interest, situated on the Janiculum and commanding a splendid outlook over the city, Campagna, and mountains.

The death on the *Titanic* in 1912 of F. D. Millet, who was to have assumed charge of the New Academy, left vacant the directorship, to which Director Carter of the School of Classical Studies succeeded. The dual work of the institution in classical studies and fine art under the leadership of Director Carter was well under way in the new building on the Janiculum when the outbreak of the war diminished, though it did not halt, its activities. True to the spirit of loyalty toward the land of its adoption, the Academy did much to aid Italy in the war. Director Gorham Phillips Stevens of the School of Fine Arts, with Mrs. Stevens, was active in Rome and at the front in relief work. Director Charles Upson Clark of the School of Classical Studies visited the front to gather material, and lectured officially for the Italian cause in America, inspiring much sympathy for Italy and raising large sums for relief. Director Carter himself died at Cervignano, near the battle lines, while on a Red Cross mission, and lies buried in Rome. Various students also contributed aid.

It required some time after the war for the Academy to recover its normal attendance, though its work had been continuous both through and after the conflict. In 1921-2 the number in the School of Classical Studies was still low, but by the next year had increased to over twenty, an en-

rollment equalled by the School of Fine Arts. The addition of the School of Music under Director Lamond in 1921-2 was an important extension of the Academy's influence.

The organization of the American Academy in Rome thus provides for three spheres of activity: the Fine Arts, including architecture, sculpture, painting, and landscape architecture; Music; and Classical Studies, including Roman archæology and Christian archæology, history and literature as research subjects, and allied specialties. At the head of the Academy as a whole is Director Stevens. The professor in charge of the Fine Arts for 1923-4 was Frank P. Fairbanks; in charge of Music, Felix Lamond. The services of these three are continuous from year to year. Other professorships at present are annual. The School of Classical Studies, since Mr. Carter became director of the Academy, has not had a permanent head, but has been administered by professors in charge for one year, assisted by annual professors. The professor in charge for 1923-4 was John C. Rolfe of the University of Pennsylvania, the annual professor, Louis K. Lord of Oberlin. Albert W. Van Buren, Associate Professor of Archæology and Librarian, and C. Densmore Curtis, Associate Professor of Archæology and Editor of Academy Publications, are on permanent tenure.

The School of Fine Arts engages in no set and formal instruction. Its members, more or less mature men who have won fellowships for three years on stipends of one thousand dollars, with others in attendance for varying periods on their own means, avail themselves of the Academy studios and library for creative work, and of the opportunities afforded by Rome and Italy, supplemented by travel in Egypt, Greece, France, and elsewhere, for study and inspiration.

The fellows in the School of Music also occupy studios, and in the intervals of their visits to famous European musical centers and performances, engage in composition.

In the School of Classical Studies, there is more of the atmosphere of formal instruction, though here too independent investigation is the essential activity. The School

of Classical Studies is really an American graduate school in classics, with the difference that it is cut off from any connection with undergraduate work and life, and sees and touches daily the actual scenes and material with which its studies are concerned. It is worth mentioning that in its years of greatest attendance it is the largest of all American graduate departments of classics. Its membership is composed of (1) three fellows, two on a one year and one on a two year period, chosen competitively; (2) independent research students; (3) visiting students, usually including teachers who are spending the year in deepening their knowledge and inspiration, and especially college and university professors on leave for the prosecution of special research. Lectures begin the first of October, and include courses (1) on the city and its monuments; (2) on the Campagna and its principal sites, such as Veii and Ostia; (3) on the museums as they illustrate early Italian culture and Roman life; (4) epigraphy, palæography, numismatics, ceramics, or some other special subject of interest to classical scholarship. In addition to these are individual lectures by Italian professors, such as Calza, director of excavations at Ostia; visiting Americans whose work is of importance, such as Henry A. Sanders and J. G. Winter, who lectured in 1922-3 on papyrus manuscripts; European scholars who happen to be available, such as Franz Gumont; and writers on classical subjects of broad interest, such as Henry Osborn Taylor.

Not least among the activities of the School is the annual excursion to Greece. This usually occurs in April and May under the direction of Professor Van Buren, who lectures among the ruins of the various Greek sites. While in Athens, the School is identified for the time with the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. The visit to Greece is preceded by a week's study and lectures among the remains of Pompeii, with Sicily or Carthage as possible supplements. The rest of the year is occupied by individual effort at Rome. The annual exposition in May affords opportunity for the visualization of the Academy's work in all spheres. In 1923, the three fellows in Music directed the Augusteo orchestra in compositions of their

own at a concert held at the Academy and attended by an international audience, while the Academy halls displayed the product of art and classical students. The exposition was visited privately by the king and his suite.

In addition to the regular work, there was held in 1923, under the direction of Grant Showerman, annual professor of 1922-3, the first summer session of the School of Classical Studies in Rome. This undertaking was repeated in 1924.

The American Academy in Rome is not the creation of an exclusive circle representing a special or selfish interest. It sprang from a need of American life, and has had the gradual and steady growth of healthy, natural things. It is ministering to the need which called it forth. In a broad way, too, it belongs to American life in the sense that it is supported by the American people and not by the few. It is not, like most of the foreign academic bodies in Italy, dependent upon the national government. This may place it at some disadvantage, but it also has the merit of insuring sincerity; personal contributions represent personal faith. The moneys of the Academy have been contributed largely by private citizens—by C. F. McKim in gift and bequest, by the Morgans, father and son, by Mrs. Heyland, by numerous donors of lesser sums whose sacrifices are quite as worthy of mention. Among them are the yearly guarantors, a list of men and women broadly representative of all sections of the United States who contribute one hundred dollars each. In addition to these individual supporters are a number of colleges and universities whose annual contributions of two hundred and fifty dollars confer honor upon themselves, and upon their students the privileges of the Academy without tuition. These institutions at present include the following: Amherst, Bryn Mawr, California, Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Hamilton, Harvard, Hunter, Johns Hopkins, Indiana, Stanford, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Michigan, Mount Holyoke, Oberlin, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Smith, Vassar, Washington, Wellesley, Williams, Wisconsin, Yale.

The support of the Academy is thus widely representative. Let us next consider whether the Academy's intel-

lectual contact with the American people corresponds to its financial contact. How does the American Academy in Rome touch American life?

First of all, there is the direct relation between the teaching of America and the Academy. The directors and annual professors of the School of Classical Studies are a great line of communication between Rome and the American class room. Their names represent every institution of size in our country, and many of those whose importance is in quality rather than in numbers; and every name signifies the enthusiasm and the vividness of instruction which are the marks of those who have come under the spell of Rome or Athens. The collegiate map of the United States is dotted with these centers of humanism. Farther, the fellows and students, who almost invariably on their return assume important positions, and the visiting professors, who already occupy such places, reinforce the effect of directors and annual professors. Rome thus functions as a great exchange between classical antiquity and classical teaching.

Nor is this influence confined to classical studies. Many alumni of the School of Fine Arts also have teaching careers which bring our civilization into relation with Italy. If I do not mention their work, and the work of architects, painters, sculptors, landscape architects, and musicians, with its more visible enrichment of our life through actual creation, it is because my theme is classical antiquity.

The second great contact of the Academy with the American people takes place through the printed page. This is accomplished by various agencies. First of all, there is the *American Journal of Archæology,* published continuously since 1885 by the Archæological Institute, and containing chiefly the research articles of members of the Schools in Athens and Rome. Second, and hardly of less importance, is *Art and Archæology,* one of the most beautiful magazines in the world, founded in 1912 and representing the blending of interests inaugurated by the union of the School of Classical Studies with the Academy at the same date. Thirdly, there are the *Memoirs of the*

American Academy in Rome, of which three volumes have been issued, two on Renaissance art subjects by Stanley Lothrop, and one by C. Densmore Curtis on the famous Bernardini tomb. More recently, there is the series of *Papers and Monographs of the Academy,* which has reached the second number. In the first volume, Roy M. Peterson gives a full account of the ancient religions in the important district about Naples and Capua; in the second, Lily R. Taylor performs a like service for students of religion in Etruria; the third, appearing in April, 1924, contains Tenney Frank's "Roman Buildings of the Republic."

The above represent only formalized publications. The Academy's place in American culture is realized even better when account is taken of the articles, essays, and books which have been produced by its members either during residence in the Academy or as the result of the inspiration communicated by association with it. A list of these would include Platner's *Topography and Monuments;* Carter's *Religious Life of Ancient Rome;* Frank's *Economic History of Rome, Roman Imperialism,* and *History of Rome;* Lowrie's *Monuments of the Early Church;* Clark's *Ammianus and Visigothica;* Norton's *Bernini;* Frothingham's *Roman Cities of Dalmatia* and articles on the so-called arch of Constantine; Elizabeth Hazelton Haight's *Italy Old and New;* Frances Sabin's *Classical Associations of Places in Italy;* Esther Van Deman's monographs on Roman material and construction; at least seven numbers in the Loeb Library series, and twelve in the series of *Our Debt to Greece and Rome;* Hale's work on the manuscript of Catullus discovered by him in the first year of the School; the studies of sites near Rome, notably Lanuvium, Norba, Privernum, and Setia; Olcott's *Dictionary of Latin Inscriptions,* broken off by the author's death; and the present writer's *Eternal Rome.* It will be seen from this varied list, which might be greatly extended, that the product of Academy members is not only of a scholarly character but in large part directed to a wide circle of cultivated readers and therefore in the best sense popular.

Another contact which can not be too highly estimated is through lectures. Since 1886 the Archæological Insti-

tute has carried out a policy by which the centers of intellectual interest in college and university towns and in the larger cities have been kept in communication with the most recent work in excavation and exploration in American, biblical, and classical lands. The lecturers chosen for this work have been in the main scholars prominent in the life of various Schools who have brought back the results of their own experience. At present, four circuits are maintained—eastern, central, western, and Canadian. The subjects presented, so far as they are concerned with Italy, range from excavation in Rome and Pompeii to the art of the Renaissance, from inscriptions and manuscripts to Roman religion. The lectures are free to the public, are usually illustrated by slides made from the lecturer's personal photography, and reach a large number of Americans who would otherwise lack a realization of progress in an important field of knowledge.

It will thus be seen that the American Academy in Rome, sums up American intellectual and æsthetic interests in Italy, and that it communicates its life to the people of America. Considered together with the Archæological Institute of America, with which its connection is not organic but none the less real, its accomplishments, not only in scholarly and literary endeavor but in the transmission of the fruits of that endeavor to the actual life of American citizenship, are probably unsurpassed by any other organization of similar character. That it takes no part in the actual discovery of Roman remains is due to Italy's policy of withholding from foreigners the privilege of excavation.

So far, we have considered the Academy as a national influence. Its international aspect also should be made clear. The Academy library, now numbering twenty-two thousand works, is freely used by scholars of all nations. Since the outbreak of the war, as the resort of investigators it has taken the place of the old German Archæological Institute, and is easily the most convenient and the most utilized of the archæological libraries in Rome. It needs only a more generous appropriation for books to become permanently the leader of all the academies in Rome. In

a more specific way, too, the Academy serves an international purpose through the opportunity it affords for the cultivation of the friendly relation between Italy and America. The attitude of the king and the country is cordial, and the courtesy of the Italian government in the way of substantial favors is much appreciated by a constantly widening circle of American citizens.

A final word, and an important one. It is not to be denied that classical study in America as well as in other places has suffered somewhat, at least in the esteem of the general public, because of devotion to minutiæ. Without pronouncing on the justice of this opinion, we may say at any rate that the dangers from pedantry are less likely to beset the student of the classics on classic soil than among stacks of research volumes far removed from the natural home of classical literature. In spite of himself, the scholar in Rome is kept from the dry-as-dust of mere books. The sight daily of the great and almost living monuments of the past, the frequent contact with enlightened visitors and a vigorous Italian life, the attractions of drama and music, the sense he soon acquires, in the midst of all these, of dwelling in the secret presence of the great figures of ancient times, are a great corrective, an insurance against the loss of the spiritual element whose presence or absence determines so largely the usefulness or the futility of learning.

Let us conclude in a most appropriate way by quoting Mr. Norton. After speaking of the temptations of scholarship "to exalt the discovery of trifling particulars into an end by itself, and to take pleasure in the mere accumulation of what Donne rightly calls

'Those unconcerning things, matter of fact,'

which, till ordered in their relation to some general truth, are nothing better than fragments in a heap of rubbish," the founder of the Archæological Institute of America, and the source of a great liberalizing in American scholarship, thus defines the scholar: "The true scholar is he who, avoiding useless specialism on the one hand, and loose

inexactness on the other, never mistaking the roots of knowledge for its fruits, or straying from the highway of learning into its by-paths, however attractively they may open before him, holds steadily to the main objects of all study, the acquisition of a fuller acquaintance with life in its higher ranges, of a juster appreciation of the ways and works of man, and of man's relation to that inconceivable universe, in the vast and mysterious order of which he finds himself an infinitesimally small object."

ROME'S PART IN WORLD DEVELOPMENT

FEW can turn from the brilliant history of the Hellenes to the story of Rome without experiencing something akin to a chill, as though passing from the warmth and color of the tropics to the more matter of fact temperate zone with its prosaic manners and customs. The fascination which ancient Greece still exercises upon us cannot be denied. We live again through the thrilling pages of her history as we live through the experiences of an absorbing play or novel. The action is gripping and holds us; we return to it again and again only to find the same tension. We glory in the triumph of the Greeks when the Persians attempted to crush their independence. We do homage to Leonidas and to those who upheld western ideals on the field of Marathon. We visualize the precarious situation when the great Persian fleet forced the future of Hellas to a single naval encounter. The whole story is so dramatic, the crowding of such accomplishment into so brief a period so staggering, that each generation relives the great Athenian drama, rejoicing in her successes and mourning at her tragic failures.

Rome presents a spectacle of an entirely different character. Greece has appealed to our emotions; Rome appeals to our reason. To be sure, concentrated thought is needed to fathom Hellenic flights but our artistic sense is forever quickened by a study of ancient Greece, which is not the case when we come to Rome.

The fact of the matter is, however, that we owe our knowledge of Hellenic culture in no small measure to the Romans. The Greeks represented the artistic, creative side; the Romans classified, organized and preserved their creations.

In our enthusiasm over the ancient Greeks we are prone to overlook their weaknesses and shortcomings. They were quick to divine; they were also fickle. Few were the cir-

cumstances where a bribe would not find a hand ready to receive it, even though the safety of the state might hang in the balance. The race was touched with genius and lived so intensely and to such purpose in a few centuries that it left mankind enough to ponder over ever after.

The Romans were strong in those directions wherein the Hellenes were weak. Slow to assimilate new ideas, they clung tenaciously to what they had once grasped. All the stories that come down to us from their formative period bespeak their truthfulness and valor. The chance to die for Rome was valued above any opportunity to live without her. The upright character of the early Roman is something humanity could ill afford to lose from the annals of the past.

To be useful for humanity knowledge must not only be grasped by the few but made accessible to the many. It matters not how splendid the attainments won if they are lost almost as quickly. The Greeks touched universal intelligence and apprehended many truths; they lived close to beauty and reflected it. In order that their acquisitions might live on in the world, it was necessary that they be tempered with reason, that they be organized and be given an element of practicability.

The pursuit of history is bound to beget in the reader some insight into the philosophy of life,—not the life of the individual but the life of humanity at large. This is its great reward.

Rome took up the torches passed to her by dying Greece and kept them burning for a thousand years. She kindled many new ones that are burning still.

Whatever assurance we today may feel in the stability of government, we owe first of all to Rome. For centuries she steadily fostered the conception of permanency. So deep was the impression made in this regard that in 800 A. D. when Charlemagne had made himself absolute in Western Europe, the only model he had to follow was that of the Roman Empire and he named his kingdom the *Holy Roman Empire* because that was the *only name* known to man that expressed permanency and power, justice and strong organization.

Frank says: "Rome was the first city-state which discovered a formula whereby a republic could expand beyond the confines of a city, unify other peoples in goodwill under its leadership, and thus give a free field for the peaceful extension of culture. There were many ingredients in the formula, but the most important one was a strong sense of justice and equity resulting in a code of laws which has educated every nation since then in the principles. . . . The Romans unified the civilized world and made it possible for all the cultural acquisitions of other ages to pass into the possession of one extensive empire so that they could not be blotted out wholly when the crash came. Through their capacity to assimilate, the Romans saved for future ages practically all that was worthy of saving."[1]

When the great empire they had welded together finally fell apart, the nations of Europe were formed from the fragments, each basing its laws upon those of the parent, each impregnated with Roman system and order.

How the city

> "that from nothing, from the least,
> The lowliest village—what but here and there
> A mud-roofed cabin by a river-side?—
> Grew into everything";

and "at length subdued them all"—that is a task gigantic enough to rivet the attention of posterity. No country has done so much for government, law and justice. Our safety at this moment is due in a great measure to Rome. So, though aware of her limitations, not expecting her to share the brilliancy of her more artistic neighbor whom she first conquered and who, by means far more subtle, conquered her in turn, we may find it highly instructive to review her accomplishments in order to become more keenly aware of her influence upon our own republic in the twentieth century.

[1] Frank: *History of Rome*, p. 12.

ANCIENT ITALY

THE peninsula of Italy, together with Sicily—now detached but once part of the same land formation—well-nigh divides the Mediterranean into two seas, unequal and dissimilar. Greece looks to the east; Italy to the west. Whereas the Ægean Sea is strewn with little islands, that lured the inexperienced sailor from continent to continent in antiquity, never out of sight of land, few islands are found off the coasts of Italy. None save Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily have any particular historical importance.

To bring the size of Italy nearer to our comprehension, it has been described as four times the size of Greece, twice as large as New York, and containing about the same number of square miles as Nevada. Approximately seven hundred miles in length, averaging one hundred in width, the Apennines extend throughout the greater portion of the peninsula like a vertebra. These mountains lie nearer to the shore on the east and from them the slope to the sea is more abrupt. On the west, plains of varying width are found along the coast, the largest being that in central Italy, some eighty miles wide; through it the Tiber flows.

The lofty Alps, wrapt in eternal snows, form a barrier to the north. The dangerous passes caused many a tribe to turn aside to other parts of Europe although passage was made again and again. Rumors of genial skies and fertile soil brought invaders not a few.

Of all this pleasant land most fertile is the valley of the Po, a river fed by numerous Alpine streams. It brings down quantities of débris every year and settlements once on the sea are now many miles inland. Due to the silt which it has spread over the valley for countless ages, the soil is exceedingly rich and productive.

Even in the Apennines little plains are nestled among the mountain spurs. Abundant pasturage is thus afforded. Altogether this was a goodly land for herdsmen and tillers

of the soil, while seafaring was left to the Greeks, who early appropriated for themselves the natural harbors along the south and southeast.

Until the last fifty years prehistoric ages were little understood. Now archæologists are in a fair way to trace back human development for tens of thousands of years. A recent writer of Roman history suggests that the human race has probably occupied Italy for twenty thousand years.

Of the Paleolithic—Rough Stone—age in Italy little is known but the last half-century has thrown light upon the close of the Neolithic—Smooth Stone—and Bronze ages. About the middle of the nineteenth century two dry years following in succession caused the Swiss lakes to lower to such an extent that a wide area ordinarily under water was left dry around their rims. Enterprising peasants in attempting to cultivate this new land surface came upon remains of piles driven into the beds of the lakes. Débris of flint and stone was discovered. A careful study was made of this region and today much is known of the prehistoric people who once occupied this country and who, for safety, built their dwellings on piles over the water,—which has given them the names of lake-dwellers or pile-dwellers.

A similar condition has been shown to have obtained around the Italian lakes. Selecting sites where pasturage was plentiful and where good soil made possible the cultivation of simple plants, these people formed regular villages some little distance from the shore. Because they invariably sought out fertile spots they have lately received the name *Terramara* (fertile earth). When all the lakes had been appropriated and invaders continued to come in quest of homes, villages in the marshy districts of the Po were laid out in the same way; and when pressure from the north either forced earlier inhabitants south or when new comers pushed past those of earlier arrival, they built dwellings on piles on the land and threw a moat around their villages, bringing water into the surrounding ditch. Of course, as time went on, wattle huts were built directly on the ground and piles were no longer used.

It is impossible to say how long this condition of life prevailed. Authorities are in no way yet agreed as to dates in prehistoric times. However there is general acceptance to the theory that when the Hellenes were making inroads into Greece, about 2000 B. C., their kinsmen were settling thus around the lakes of Switzerland and Italy.

Tyler has written instructively regarding this period of European history. He says: "Could we have sat on one of these village platforms of a summer afternoon and looked out to the wheatfields on the shore, and seen the canoes come in with fish and game, and the cattle returning from the mainland pasture; could we have watched the men fashioning implements and all manner of woodwork, and the women grinding the grain or moulding pottery, or spinning and weaving, we should have found a great deal to please and interest us. The fruits and berries, the smell of roasting fish and baking bread, of cakes well flavored with the oil from beechnut or flax, or perhaps sifted over with the seeds of poppy or caraway, would have been far from disagreeable."[11]

These cousins of the Hellenes are known as Italics. Whereas in Greece the tribes were brought into direct contact with oriental civilization, far in advance of their own, stimulating them thereby to rapid progress, in Italy no such influence was at work. To be sure, the Greeks had early planted colonies along the south and the Phœnicians brought their wares to every available market. Yet Italic tribes were remote from much contact with either people, having few wants and those easily supplied. Among them the Sabines, Samnites, Umbrians and Latins were early differentiated.

Mention has already been made of the Hellenic colonizing carried on in Italy in the eighth and seventh centuries.[x] It remains to speak of a third race prominent in this period—the Etruscans, so long a puzzle to historians. Who they were and whence they came are queries often heard; numerous theories have been advanced but only in the first years of this century, due to Cretan excavations, has it been conjectured that they were an offshoot of the Ægean race

which formerly populated Ægean lands.[y] Now writers do not hesitate to refer to them as decadent Minoans."[z] Their civilization and that of the Minoans are at agreement in many particulars; hence we are probably safe in finding in Crete not only the origins of Hellenic culture but of Italian, also. Surely it was no small contribution to have laid the foundation for the remarkable creative art of these two countries which have been pre-eminent in this field of human expression.

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1 Tyler: *The New Stone Age in Europe*, 89.
x See Part III, p. 573.
y See Botsford: *Hellenic History*.
z See Part III, p. 469.

ROME AND THE LATINS

THE reasons why the Latins outdistanced other Italic people and why the Romans early gained mastery over Latium are probably to be sought in the location of each. Only the river separated the Latins from the Etruscans, whose high state of civilization we have previously examined.[x] The Tiber was not well suited to navigation because of its strong current, but in primitive times it sufficed for trafficking. Later, when the Romans began to engage in trade they founded a port at the river's mouth and sent merchandise overland. Such contact as resulted from the trading with the Greeks served to accelerate the mentality of the Latins. Again, Latium was exposed to attack from the Sabines in the hills and from the Etruscans; hence the different Latin villages found it prudent to band together for mutual protection at an early time. Finally, dwelling as they did in a plain, the nature of the country was conducive to unity.

The plains along western Italy are broken by many hills; on the proverbial seven the city of Rome was founded. The date 753 B. C., so confidently accepted for ages as the time when the first settlement was made, has proved in light of modern investigation to be too late by far—1000 B. C., perhaps earlier, would be nearer the truth.

The origin of the word *Rome* is conjectural. Some hold that it comes from a Latin word meaning stream: *Ruma* or *Rome, stream city,* emphasizing its location upon the Tiber. However, it has recently been suggested that Romulus was an ancient deity and that his name was bestowed upon the town of his special care. These are questions which are likely to remain unsettled.

The importance of the river is apparent. Rising in the Etrurian mountains, more than two hundred miles north of Rome, it makes two bends in the city, where its current is especially swift. Fifteen miles farther along it reaches the

sea. Combined with the river were hills, absolutely necessary to primitive folk for citadels. On hilltops stockades or forts were constructed, in which, when danger threatened, all might take refuge; around the hills it was essential that pasturage be available for the cattle; and finally, water must be assured even in time of war. All these conditions were met in Palatine, where the earliest settlement appears to have been made. Other advantages presented themselves here: the hill was nearly level; save on one side, it was steep and hence easily defended. Springs were near at hand. Its proximity to other hills made possible the future city although in the beginning this could scarcely have been regarded as advantageous, for in this early age *stranger* and *enemy* were synonymous.

Palatine probably comes from a word meaning *pasture.* Pales was the god of pastures, a deity important to a people who drove their cattle out to graze in the morning and brought them back to the safety of the stronghold at night.

Many were the legends clustering around the Palatine. Beneath it, by the river, was the Luperçal, the cave whence came the wolf who cared for the abandoned children. At the top of a flight of stairs leading down to the foot of the hill was the house of Romulus, the first legendary king; or, if late opinion is to be considered, associated in some way with the patron god or hero.

Capitoline was likewise peopled at an early time. It is smallest of the seven hills. In the days of the empire a spur which joined it to Quirinal was excavated to make room for a new Forum.

Highest and largest of the hills is Aventine. Quirinal, Viminal, Carlian and Esquiline are but spurs of the mountains on the east. In the course of time all were settled. At first hostile to one another, it proved mutually advantageous that the tribes work together. When the various tribes dwelling on these hilltops were not fighting one another they would come down in the vales between the heights to barter. In such a hollow developed the Forum, which served the same purpose as the Greek Agora. In both at first stalls were located where commodities were bought and sold. From both these stalls were finally

pushed away, as space was needed for public buildings and assemblies.

Some there are who would find in the Romans a different race, people who came into Italy under different circumstances and who from the beginning were in advance of the Latins in culture. If this could be proved it would explain much that is otherwise difficult to account for. Like many another theory that has been advanced about early Roman history there are arguments both for and against it. It is very difficult indeed to reconstruct the first centuries of the history of the Romans because the records are so few. It is possible that when the symbols of the Etruscans and Cretans shall have been deciphered and further excavations carried on, more light may be thrown upon Roman origins—now lost in legends.

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[x] Minoans: See Part III, p. 469.

THE AGE OF LEGEND

CENTURIES passed before the Romans bethought them of their remote past. Then, elated by victories and influenced by the Greeks, they looked back to view "the steps by which they did ascend." Only legends and traditions confronted them. These they accepted and perpetuated, although it is likely that many shared the view of their own historian, Livy, who said: "Antiquity is always indulged with the privilege of rendering the origin of cities more venerable by intermixing divine with human agency. . . . But what degree of attention or credit may be given to these and such-like matters I shall not consider as very material."

Because these stories have been repeated for more than two thousand years and have become embedded in all subsequent literature, it is necessary that we have some acquaintance with them, understanding that in no way are they today regarded as authentic or accepted as historical narrative.

Among those to escape from burning Troy were Æneas, his father Anchises, and his little son Iulus. Æneas had repeatedly declared that Paris should in justice be turned over to the Hellenes and the wearisome siege ended. For this reason, the Greeks were willing that he should escape the wholesale slaughter which followed their entrance into Troy. Setting sail from Ilium with Trojan fugitives for companions, he met with many stirring experiences and underwent many hardships. In course of time his father died. The gods had ordained that Æneas should found a new state, and he was bidden to journey along until a sign should be given him. At last it appeared in central Italy. Here he found King Latinus reigning over the Latins. Some accounts say that Æneas and his band defeated this king in battle and that afterwards the leaders, King Latinus and Æneas, ruled jointly; other stories relate that

King Latinus welcomed Æneas, seeing in him the fulfillment of a dream. In any event, the two were soon friends and King Latinus gave Æneas his daughter Lavinia in marriage. However, this princess had been earlier betrothed to a neighboring chief who resented the idea of a stranger winning his intended bride. He waged a battle against the Latins and their Trojan allies, and both he and King Latinus were killed. This left the kingship to Æneas, who founded a long line of rulers. He built up a new town, naming it Lavinium in honor of his wife. His son Ascanius succeeded him, and he in turn founded Alba Longa, to relieve other thickly populated settlements. A long line of kings followed, one bearing the name Tiberinus. He was drowned in the river henceforth called the Tiber. Finally the crown passed to Numitor, but Amulius, a younger brother wanted it for himself, so he deposed Numitor, killed his sons and caused his daughter Rhea to become a vestal virgin. But the god Mars became enamored with her charms and in course of time she bore him twin sons—Romulus and Remus. When Amulius heard of this, he ordered the mother to be put to death and the babes to be cast into the Tiber.

"Neither gods nor men screened her or her children from the king's cruelty; the princess was loaded with chains, and cast into prison, and the children were ordered to be thrown into the stream of the river. It happened providentially that the Tiber, overflowing its banks, formed itself into stagnant pools in such a manner, so that the regular channel was everywhere inaccessible, and those who carried the infants supposed that they would be drowned in any water, however still. A story prevails that the retiring flood having left on dry ground the trough, hitherto floating, in which they had been exposed, a thirsty she-wolf from the neighboring mountains directed her course to the children, showing so much kindness that the keeper of the king's herds found her licking the boys with her tongue; and that this shepherd, whose name was Faustulus, carried them home to his wife Laurentia to be cared for."[1]

In course of time the boys grew to manhood. Learning of their noble birth, they re-established their grandfather

Numitor on the throne, slaying their wicked uncle. Then the brothers determined to found a city on the site where they had been rescued. An angry quarrel arose between them regarding it and Romulus slew his brother Remus. He reigned over the people in the new settlement for many years. Meantime Rome supplanted Alba Longa as head of the League of Thirty Cities.

After awhile the senate grew dissatisfied with Romulus and his rule, and strange to say, just about that time he suddenly disappeared. The people murmured openly about his disappearance, but some one stepped forward and affirmed that he had seen Romulus translated to Heaven.

"Proculus Julius, a person whose testimony in any case, as we are told, deserved respect, while the public were full of grief for the king, and of displeasure against the senators, came out into an assembly of the people and said: 'Romans, yesterday at the dawn of day, Romulus, the parent of this, our city, descending suddenly from heaven, appeared before me; and when, seized with horror, I stood in a worshipping posture, and addressed him with prayers, that I might be allowed to behold him without being guilty of impiety, Go, said he, tell the Romans that it is the will of the gods that my Rome should be the metropolis of the world. Let them therefore cultivate the arts of war; and be assured, and hand this assurance down to posterity, that no human power is able to withstand the Roman arms. After these words he went up and vanished from my sight.'

"It was wonderful how readily the story was credited on this man's word; and how much the grief of the people, and of the army, was assuaged, by their being satisfied of his immortality.'"[2]

The story of the Sabine women is connected with the age of Romulus, and reflects a rough, primitive society. It seems that when Romulus established his settlement on Palatine hill, he populated it with rough shepherds, but few had wives. Now it was not easy to persuade women to come to live in this new village, yet only by building up permanent homes would the growth of the village be assured. In this situation Romulus and his companions hit upon a deceit which they successfully carried through. They

invited the neighboring Sabines to visit their settlement to celebrate a religious festival. The unsuspecting farmers gathered with their wives and families, whereupon the men of Rome seized each upon some comely daughter of a Sabine, holding them captives. Taken so unawares, the guests could only depart to incite their kinsmen to avenge this outrage. Being well defended on the Palatine, the Latins held also a stronghold on Capitoline; this was guarded by Tarpeius. His daughter Tarpeia betrayed the fortress to the Sabine soldiers, who promised her the bracelets of gold which they wore on their arms. She was crushed to death as the soldiers crowded into the fort, and henceforth the rock was called Tarpeian, and traitors were thrown over it to certain death. Following the surrender of the fort on Capitoline, a battle was waged between the Latins and the Sabines, but at length the daughters who had been stolen from their families were torn by their anguish for their fathers and their husbands, and, rushing between the lines of battle, implored each side to yield. Overcome by their entreaties, the Romans and Sabines entered into a treaty, agreeing to live at peace with one another in the future.

We are told that one year after the death of Romulus, Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, was chosen to rule over the Romans. Tradition says that he divided among the people lands thus far conquered and instituted the worship of Terminus, god of boundaries. He established a state religion and organized a priesthood. Whereas Romulus had brought into use a calendar of ten months, Numa added two more, January, named for the god Janus, and February, from *februa,* purification. Both had to do with religious ceremony and worship.

Numa's reign was long and prosperous. The people of the rude hamlet learned to be law-abiding and to cultivate the arts of peace. Obedience to order, industry, care in religious observation—these were developed and stimulated by Numa.

The second king was succeeded by Tullus Hostilius, a Latin noble. He was warlike, plunging immediately into difficulty with the inhabitants of Alba Longa. This city

he destroyed and brought its people to Rome, where they were given homes on the Aventine. How long he reigned is not known, but under his administration the arts of peace were supplanted by vicissitudes of war.

Ancus Martius, grandson of Numa, became the traditional fourth king. He turned attention once more to law, order and religion. However, he was not destined to revive the peace of his illustrious ancestor. Latin tribes thought the opportunity favorable for an attack upon Rome, whereupon the king proved himself as able in war as in peace. Not only did he defeat his aggressors, but took many of them captive, compelling them henceforth to make their homes in the city. The fortifications of Janiculum, the large hill across the river, together with the bridge which connected it to the city are attributed to Ancus.

During the reign of Ancus a Greek exile, originally from Corinth, migrated to Rome from Tarquinii in Etruria to mend his fortunes. He soon gained the confidence of the people and the king, who left him guardian of his sons. It was a comparatively simple matter to persuade the populace that Tarquinius, as he was called, would prove a more efficient ruler than the boyish heirs, and the people proclaimed him king. He carried on successful campaigns with the Etrurians and having established peace abroad, turned to local improvements.

The sons of Ancus, who had been set aside by the usurping Tarquinius, fearing that the throne would pass to the king's adopted son Servius Tullius upon his death, now formed a plot to kill both Tarquinius and Servius. The murder of the king was accomplished, but Servius was clever enough to defend himself and appropriate the crown for himself. He was the first king to hold his place without the consent of the people. He espoused the cause of the common people and this gave opportunity for the patricians to unite against him, calling attention to his irregular succession. Finally they were able to substitute a noble, known as Tarquinius the Proud, in his place.

The haughty bearing of the seventh king incited the people. He compelled men to labor on public work at scanty pay, thus arousing the indignation of the masses.

Only a spark was needed to occasion an outbreak. This was supplied when one of the Tarquinians insulted Lucretia, wife of Brutus. Making common cause, the citizens of Rome rose up and drove the family out of their city, ending for all time the kingship in Rome. By popular consent, they declared that one who might in the future express himself as in favor of a king should be put to death as a public enemy.

These are the happenings which tradition has handed down from time immemorial in Rome. In later years historians have seen in the stories certain elements of truth. For example, it has been suggested that each king, as a matter of fact, represents an indefinite period characterized by general tendencies which in the legend are treated as personal attributes of one ruler. "Romulus is to Alban Rome what the name Pharaoh is to ancient Egypt—a gathering up into one name of the kings or captains who, through a whole period, exercised government there."

While the Romans flattered their vanity by relating that their ancestors elected Numa, a Sabine, to rule over them, it is probable that the reign of a Sabine in Rome proves conclusively that the Sabines at this particular period became stronger than the Romans. The Sabines were very religious, and Numa strongly impressed religion upon the town. So firmly were certain religious customs associated with his name that future generations regarded him as the founder of Roman religion, quite as the ancient Hebrews attributed to Moses the origin of laws which in reality came into existence long centuries after his death. How long the Sabines ruled we have no idea. Being an agricultural people, caring little for war, they left an imprint of this disposition upon Rome. However, the tide turned again. The Latins rose up and made one of their own number king. With restoration of Roman rule, we find an abandonment of peace for the ways of war.

Under Ancus Martius, the fourth king, the Sabines were once again in power. Whether or not the Pons Sublicius was actually built during his reign cannot be ascertained, but tradition ascribed it so. Sublicius—from *sublica,* a pile—was made entirely of wood, no metal whatever being

used in its construction. Because of some religious significance, this bridge was never allowed to fall into decay, but was rebuilt again and again.

The last three kings were Etruscans, and we find with their incoming civilization a change. Tarquinius introduced at once those elements which were conspicuous in Etruscan culture.

"His first war was with the Latins, and having brought thence a greater quantity of booty than had been expected, he *exhibited games* in a more expensive and splendid manner than any of the former kings. On that occasion the ground was marked out for the circus, which is now called 'maximus' (the principal), in which certain divisions were set apart for the senators and knights, where each were to build seats for themselves, which were called Fori. The games consisted of horse races and the performances of wrestlers, collected mostly from Etruria; and from that time continued to be celebrated annually, being termed the Roman, and sometimes the great, games. By the same king, lots for building were assigned to private persons around the Forum, where porticoes and shops were erected. . . .

"The Sabine war being concluded, he then applied himself to works of peace, with a degree of spirit which even exceeded the efforts he had made in war; so that the people enjoyed little more rest at home than they had during the campaigns; for he set about surrounding with a wall of stone those parts of the city which he had not already fortified; which work had been interrupted at the beginning of the war with the Sabines. The lower parts of the city about the Forum, and the other hollows that lay between the hills, from whence it was difficult to discharge the water, by reason of their situation, he drained by means of sewers drawn on a slope down to the Tiber. He also marked out and laid the foundations for inclosing a court round the temple of Jupiter which he had vowed during the Sabine war, his mind already presaging the future magnificence of this place."[3]

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[1] Livy: *History of Rome.*
[2] Ibid., p. 16.
[3] Ibid., Vol. I. p. 88.

SURVIVALS OF REGAL ROME

IT has been advocated in the last few years that there are many reasons for believing that the Etruscans conquered the Romans and maintained their ascendency until about 500 B. C. In the construction of walls and sewers we may feel with some assurance that we find traces of Cretan civilization. It was natural that such a circumstance would have been passed over and later obscured by stories more pleasing to Roman pride. The names of seven kings survive but we may be sure there were in reality many more. Certain institutions and systems of government lived on after the passing of the monarchy and were absorbed by the Roman Republic.

As in Greece, the earliest government was vested in a king, a council or senate, and a general assembly. The king's power was limited only by the strong influence of custom. He was chosen by the senate, and proclaimed king by the general assembly. He was high priest and supreme judge, as well as chief executive, possessing authority of life and death over his subjects.

The senate was composed of the heads of ancient families. They advised with the king at his request, were the guardians of law and custom, but had little power save upon the death of a king, when they themselves governed until a successor to the throne should be agreed upon.

The general assembly was made up of all the fighting men, of whatever rank. They gave expression of their approval or dissent by shouts or brandishing of arms, taking no part in deliberations.

After the establishment of the republic a similar system of government continued. In place of the king, two magistrates, known as consuls, exercised executive control. The functions of the senate were increased, and while at different times considerable authority rested with the

general assembly, it possessed great power only in the later republic.

Rome had once embraced three tribes: Ramnes, upon the Palatine; a body of Sabines, called Tities, which settled upon Quirinal Hill, and a third division, whether Latins or Etruscans we do not know, that made their homes on the Cælian, and were known as Luceres. The very word *tribe* had its beginning under these circumstances—tribus, one-third. Members of these three tribes enjoyed equal privileges and their descendants made up the patrician class. The tribes, however, were soon lost sight of, and the patrician remained bound to his clan, or gens.

The clan (gens) was made up of all men and unmarried women descended from a common ancestor. The oldest male relative, whether father or eldest son, ruled over the family with absolute power. The *pater familias* might sell the others into slavery or put them to death. He was high priest, judge and king so far as family affairs were concerned and the state in no wise interfered with, or limited his control. Nevertheless, the powerful influence of custom restricted his actions and, in spite of possessing unusual control, we hear little or nothing of its abuse. The family, not the individual, was the unit of state. Family affairs and state affairs, family religion and state religion, these were the two divisions which early Roman society recognized.

The political division next higher than the family was the clan—a number of families, related by ties of blood. The several families composing the clan dwelt near one another and held part of their territory in common. Higher still was the curia, a number of clans or gentes, uniting originally for protection and gradually acknowledging a chief in times of peace as well as war. The tribe included several curiæ.

The patricians, already mentioned, alone possessed full rights of citizenship in early Rome. Second were the clients, foreigners and freed slaves, who attached themselves to patricians because they could not hold property in their own names. In turn for protection they gave service

and fealty. In court, the client could obtain a hearing through the voice of his patron.

Finally the plebeians made up the rest of the population, save for the slaves, who possessed absolutely no rights whatever. The plebeians could hold property, buy and sell, but at first they had no active part in the government. In the beginning, the population of a conquered village was often brought into Rome and these people were known as "clients of the king." They took the name plebeian, or it may have been forced upon them; and their number was gradually swelled by small farmers who came into Roman territory for protection. Later, when they began to obtain political power, they were joined by the clients. The situation might be stated in this way: In early Rome there were two classes, citizens and non-citizens. Whatever privileges there were belonged to the first class, while those shut out from citizenship were at the mercy of the nobles. They had no rights recognized by law and no way to seek redress save through some patrician, who gave protection in turn for some consideration.

Generally speaking, these social and political conditions lived on in Rome and upon them the future organization of the state was built. To what extent they had been developed during the kingdom we do not know, but it is plain that they were of long standing.

Concerning early Roman religion, comparatively little is known. Suffice it to say that the popular idea that the religions of Greece and Rome were identical, or that Rome simply took over the religion of her Hellenic neighbors, is mistaken and misleading. Before the Latins came in contact with the Greeks they worshiped the forces of nature, and long after they had assimilated the beliefs of the Greeks, their own early religious conceptions influenced the worship of adopted deities. Roman religion was observed by the family and state, and the worship of family gods remained closer to the hearts of the Romans than the ceremonies connected with the gods of state.

Originally the *Lares* were the gods that guarded the farms. Each farm had its own Lares, but these were worshiped where four farms met. Here in remotest times

among the Latins, families gathered for religious festivals. Later the Lares became gods of the house as well, and each household had images of them set up by the hearth. In towns the same deities were taken over and, at the intersection of four streets, shrines would be raised to the Lares. Cakes, flowers, and sacrifices of a like nature were offered and blessings asked of the divinities. Besides the Lares and Penates—god of the store-house—ancestors were worshiped by the Romans in the privacy of the family. Each person was thought to have his double or *genius,* and it was an act of piety to worship the genius of a departed relative.

Aside from these domestic gods, the elements of nature were worshiped. The sun, the rain, the wind, all these were forces to be appeased and propitiated. However, the Romans did not possess sufficient imaginations to develop such a wealth of stories around these deified forces as did their neighbors, the Hellenes.

"The gods of early Rome were neither married nor given in marriage, they had no children or grandchildren and there were no divine genealogies. Instead they were thought of occasionally as more or less individual powers, but usually as masses of potentialities, grouped together for convenience as the 'gods of the country,' the 'gods of the store-room' and the 'gods of the dead,' etc. Even when they were conceived of as somewhat individual, they were usually very closely associated with the corresponding object; for example, Vesta was not so much the goddess of the hearth as the goddess 'Hearth' itself, Janus not the god of doors so much as the god 'Door.' "[1]

Saturnus was probably the most ancient Italian deity. As the tribes of Italy emerged from a pastoral to a settled life, they grew anxious to propitiate the god who taught men to sow and reap. Long afterwards, men looked back upon the simple life of their fathers as a happy time, and Saturn's reign was called the Golden Age. The feast of Saturnalia was commemorated throughout the Republic.

Janus, already mentioned, was also an ancient god. One story related that he had once been a king, who after death was deified. He was regarded as the god of origins, "the introduction of the system of years, the changes of the

seasons, the ups and downs of fortune, and of the human race by means of agriculture, industry, arts, and religion. . . . It is easy to explain the great honor paid to Janus by a people like the Romans, who, as a rule, had this peculiarity of pondering well the prospects of an undertaking before entering upon it. The beginning of everything was a matter of great importance to them, and Janus was the god of a good beginning. Janus opened and closed all things. He sat not only on the confines of the earth, but also at the gates of heaven. Air, sea, and land were in the hollow of his hands. The world moved on its hinges at his command."[2]

Terminus, god of boundaries, was another Italian god. He was honored by stones placed along the boundaries of men's holdings.

To a warlike people their war-god, Mars, was important; one month, March, was called by his name. Ceres was goddess of the harvest. Our word cereal is thus derived. Flora, goddess of flowers; Pomona, of fruits; Liber, god of wine; Tullus, deity of the soil, were all worshiped. Temples were not raised to these spirits, who were present on every hand. Tullus was spirit of the soil on every farm. Jupiter, greatest of all their deities, was originally a god of light. Formless, he manifested to men as the clear light of day and was worshiped on the top of Mount Alba, an extinct volcano. There was something fine about this conception of the forces of nature considered abstractly which was lost in later years when the Greeks had identified Roman deities with their own and bequeathed to them the lore which time had bestowed upon each. Hellenic artists began to depict Jupiter in bodily form, after the manner of Zeus; Juno, like Hera; Minerva similar to Athena. Those who had known the gods under the old guise of formless spirits continued to think of them as before but future generations inherited these composite deities, which did not possess the old time vitality and power. In comparison with the spirits of nature, the Olympic gods were artificial and unreal. It is regrettable that Greek influence was felt as early as it was in this direction.

[1] Carter: *The Religion of Numa*, 17.
[2] Murray: *Hist. of Mythology.*

STRIFE FOR POLITICAL EQUALITY

IF it were possible to substantiate the idea once advanced by some historians that two different peoples were represented by the patricians and plebeians in Rome, then the long civic struggle that reached over a century and a half —509-367 B. C.—would be largely explained. Even without such a theory, we are able to parallel the conflict with that waged in Hellas between nobles and common people. The strict law which forbade intermarriage between the two classes gives evidence that contamination of blood was feared—entirely to be understood if two origins be admitted. Be that as it may, it was a stormy struggle during which many lessons were learned which stood Romans in good stead for the future.

It may well be questioned whether events took the precise course which history has preserved to us. It must be remembered that few records were kept and that long years passed before any attempt was made to construct a historical narrative. Even then the early writings were made by Greeks who are justly suspected of having interpreted events in Italy in the light of their own development in Hellas.

The patricians and plebeians had united to abolish the kingship, but it was soon forced upon the minds of the common people that only the upper class was benefited by the change of government. The Republic established upon the expulsion of the Tarquins was not the kind of republic with which we are today familiar, but was, rather, an aristocratic republic. Only members of one class were allowed to participate in the affairs of the state, and this class governed all the rest of the population according to its will. For this reason one hundred and fifty years were consumed by the Romans in struggling among themselves, the common people striving to obtain, first, some voice in

the government, and finally, equality with the aristocrats. This struggle was peculiar in that it was fought out for the most part without bloodshed. Whereas in Hellas political revolutions were usually accompanied by civil war, the Romans possessed a different temperament. They could contend very vigorously for their rights, but in early days they did not quickly resort to arms; during the kingdom they had learned the lesson of obedience to law, and this stood them in good stead. Moreover, when internal excitement was at high pitch, and the common people were even threatening to depart to found a city for themselves, if foreign foes appeared, all city strife could be for the moment laid aside and, shoulder to shoulder, common people and patricians would go forth to defend their little state.

Upon the expulsion of the kings, the government was vested (1) in two consuls; (2) the senate; (3) the popular assembly. The consuls were elected by the popular assembly from the patrician class and served one year, whereas the king had ruled for life. Moreover, the king was absolute, but in the case of two consuls, the will of one frequently restrained the other. The pomp of office was diminished. In place of the purple robe, the consuls had merely a purple border in their togas, and while the king had ridden in a chariot, the consuls, like other Roman citizens, walked about the city. The priestly power which had belonged to the king was taken away from the executives, and left to one called "the king of the sacrifice," while finances were managed by two quæstors, chosen by the people. Thus we see that the power of the executives was greatly curtailed.

The Romans were from the first a distinctly military nation, and they saw at once that special need might require supreme control to be temporarily vested in a single officer. Should the enemy threaten, for example, the two consuls might be divided upon the policy it were best to follow and, while they delayed, much might be lost. On this account it was provided that in such emergency a dictator should be appointed and, while he controlled, his will was to be supreme. From his decision there was to be no appeal, and

he was to be implicitly obeyed. However, his term was limited to six months, after which time he might be called upon to answer for any act committed during his rule. We shall find that several times in the course of Roman history it was deemed necessary to appoint a dictator, although in later years his absolute control was generally limited to the campaign he was waging, while within Rome itself the senate ruled.

The two consuls were to act in conjunction with the advice of the senate, which had existed during the monarchy, but had fallen in dignity under the proud Tarquin. The first consuls immediately restored its membership to 300, which number was retained until the time of Julius Cæsar. Only patricians were eligible to places in the senate.

The popular assembly was made up of all citizens capable of serving in the army. The plebeians, with the clients who had become identified with them, belonged to it. This body elected the consuls, but could vote merely upon the names presented by the senate. Its acquiescence was supposed to be necessary for the passage of any important measure but, as it worked out, the patricians controlled the government.

The lot of the plebeian soon became a sorry one. He could hold no public office nor defend his rights. In fact, he had no rights. When war broke out, he took his sword and went forth to serve the state. During his absence his little farm often sank into decay; his house was a mere hut, his implements the most primitive, and his cattle few. When he returned, in order to get started again, he must borrow and only the patrician was able to lend. If poor crops followed for a season or two, he was unable to pay back what he had borrowed, and the patrician seized him as a slave. Sometimes he imprisoned him and his family. There was no redress and the common people were sinking into a hopeless state of despondency. The public land which they had helped to win from outside tribes they saw appropriated by the upper class, which exercised the power it possessed to do as it would.

At length, in 494 B. C., the plebeians to a considerable

number went out of the city and took up their position upon Mons Sacre, a hill beyond the Anio. Here they declared they would establish a city of their own. In consternation the patricians roused to the situation. Here was the main strength of their army gone, and what would they do if word of this dissension should reach the ears of their enemies, who would at once march against the divided city? In any event, they must induce the common people to return. So they sent thither a man who was known to be friendly to the people, and who was also trusted by the patricians. He told them a fable of how the various parts of the body had once cried out against the stomach, which apparently did nothing, although the hands gave food to the mouth, the teeth masticated it, and so on. These parts of the body decided to starve out the stomach, but they soon found that each portion was growing weak as the stomach weakened, and at length realized that all parts must work in harmony. The lesson was not hard to draw, and the plebeians were probably anxious to return if tolerable conditions should be offered. They held out bravely though, and asked that all existing debts be cancelled and all persons held for debt be released. Further, they insisted upon having two officers of their own whose persons were to be sacred during their term of office. These men, chosen by themselves, were to cry out—to *veto,* to forbid, any law or action which should in their judgment be injurious to the common people. Moreover, two ædiles were to be chosen from the lower class.

The patricians felt constrained to grant these requirements, although they hoped still to keep authority in their own hands. The quarrel was settled in this way, and the plebeians returned to Rome.

In 486 B. C. Spurius Cassius, a consul, tried to lessen the injustice connected with the public lands, and brought forward an agrarian, or land, law. This was designed merely to give the commoners some part of the lands taken in war, but the patricians managed to defeat it and after his term of office expired killed the consul as a traitor.

Thus far Rome has possessed no written laws. In tribal days the father had ruled absolutely in the family,

and the chief had settled difficulties and punished crimes within the tribe. These judgments, handed down from father to son, grew into the laws of Rome, which were not, however, always uniform, and were variously interpreted. Only the patricians knew what they were, each son of the aristocratic class being instructed in them as part of his education. Although a knowledge of these laws was confined to the patricians, the plebeians were nevertheless judged by them and finally a tribune, Gaius Terentilius Harsa, asked that they be collected and published where all might read them. Reasonable as this request seems, the patricians declared that the laws were too sacred to be given to the low-born plebeians, and for ten years the two classes struggled and strove, one to secure the publication of the common laws, the other to hold them secret. At last the plebeians tired out the others and it was agreed that ten men, *decemvirs,* be appointed to collect and publish the laws. While they were occupied in so doing, all other officers of the city were to be suspended, and these ten men were to rule absolute. At the close of a year they were to make their report.

The decemvirs started upon their task in 450 B. C. and inscribed upon ten brass tablets the laws they collected. The next year, 449 B. C., ten more were appointed to complete the task. They published two more tablets of laws and then, strange to say, refused to resign, inferring that they wished to make themselves absolute. The plebeians saw in this some design to withdraw their privileges, and thereupon threatened to secede once more, whereupon the decemvirs were forced to lay down their power. Two consuls who were friendly to the plebs were now elected, Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius. The common people also compelled a general recognition of the right of appeal in criminal cases, both for patricians and plebeians, of the sanctity of the tribunes, and that laws passed by the popular assembly should be binding upon all citizens alike. This legally established the popular assembly as the legislative body of Rome.

In 445 B. C. a marriage law was passed which was directed toward the gradual removal of social distinctions.

Heretofore marriage had been only possible within one's own social class; patrician married patrician, and pleb married pleb. Now, however, intermarriage was made legal. This law tended in a large measure to break down the old barriers of class distinction and to create a united social body.

Although the plebeians had won several important concessions, they were not satisfied. Until political equality might be established in the city, the strife between patrician and plebeian would not end. In 444 B. C. the lower class made a stand for admission to the higher offices of the city. The patricians were ready to grant anything rather than admit plebeians to consulship, and they now offered to create new officers with powers equal to the consuls but having less honor than these. The new officers were to be called consular tribunes, and it was to be each year determined whether they or the consuls be made executives for the following term. Although this temporarily appeased the plebeians, it did not aid them much in gaining additional power.

The next year, 443 B. C., fearful lest too great authority come into the hands of the commoners, the patricians created a new office: the censorship. Two censors were to be chosen, and to them part of the consular duties were given. They were to make up the census—a statement of each man's property, and they were to decide who was eligible to sit in the senate.

Meantime, wars had been going on and the plebeians had again become much impoverished. The situation was alarming, and two consuls were elected who were known to sympathize with the poor people. These men, Lincinius Stolo and Lucius Sextus, secured the passage of the following, known as the Licinian laws:

1. Interest already paid by the plebs should be deducted from the principal of their debt, and the remainder might be paid within three years.

2. Public lands were to be open to all, no man being allowed to take possession of more than 300 acres.

3. The number of slaves employed upon any one farm was limited in order to give opportunity for free labor.

4. The college of priests having charge of the Sibylline Books, supposed to contain prophecies concerning Rome, was to be open to the plebeians.

5. The consular tribunes were abolished. Two consuls were to be chosen as before, but hereafter one was to be a plebeian.

The people, in gratitude for his efforts in their behalf, chose Lucius Sextus for their first consul.

Some few difficulties remained to cause dissension, but it is generally agreed that the passage of these laws in 367 B. C. threw all offices open to all classes, and brought about political equality in Rome.

SELECTIONS FROM THE TWELVE TABLES OF LAWS

Table I. Proceedings Preliminary to Trial

1. If the complainant summon the defendant before the magistrate, he shall go; if he do not go, the plaintiff may call a bystander to witness, and take him by force.

2. If the defendant attempt evasion or flight, the complainant may lay hands upon him.

6. If the parties do not agree, the plaintiff shall state his case in the comitium or in the forum before midday. Let both parties appear, and argue out the matter together.

Table II. The Trial

1. The amount of the stake to be deposited by each litigant shall be either 500 ases or 50 ases; 500 when the subject of dispute is valued at 1,000 or upwards, 50 when at less than 1,000. But when the subject of dispute be the freedom of a man, then, however valuable the man may be, the deposit shall be only 50 ases.[1]

3. A party that is in want of a witness shall go and cry aloud at the door of his house, thus summoning him to attend on the third market day following.

4. Theft may be the subject of compromise.

Table III. Execution

1. In the case of an admitted debt or of awards made by judgment, 30 days shall be allowed for payment.

2. In default of payment, after these thirty days of grace have elapsed, the debtor may be arrested and brought before the magistrate.

3. Unless the debtor discharge the debt, or some one come forward in court to guarantee payment, the creditor may take the debtor away with him, and bind him with thongs or with fetters, the weight of which shall not be more (but, if the creditors choose, may be less) than 15 pounds.

4. The debtor may, if he choose, live on his own means, otherwise the creditor that has him in bonds shall give him a pound of bread a day; or, if he choose, more.

5. In default of settlement of the claim, the debtor may be kept in bonds for 60 days. In the course of this period he shall be brought before the prætor in the comitium on three successive market days, and the amount of the debt shall be publicly declared. After the third market day the debtor may be punished with death or sold beyond the Tiber.

Table IV. Patria Potestas

1. Monstrous or deformed offspring may be put to death.

2. The father shall, during his whole life, have absolute power over his legitimate children. He may imprison the son, or scourge him, or keep him working in the fields in fetters, or put him to death, even if the son hold highest offices of state, and be celebrated for his public services. He may also sell the son.

3. But if the father sell a son a third time, the son shall be freed from his father.

Table V. Inheritance and Tutelage

1. All women shall be under the authority of a guardian; but the vestal virgins are free from tutelage.

3. The provisions of the will of a paterfamilias concerning his property and the tutelage of his family shall be law.

9. Debts due to or by a deceased person are divided among his co-successors, by mere operation of law, in proportion to their shares in the inheritance.

Table VI. Ownership and Possession

1. The legal effect of every contract and of every conveyance (made with the money and the scales) shall rest upon the declaration made in the transaction.

7. If a man finds that his timber has been used by another in building a house, or for the support of vines, he shall not remove it.

8. But he shall have a right of action against the other for double its value.

Table VII. Real Property Law

1. A clear space of two and a half feet shall be left around every house.

5. For the settlement of dispute as to boundaries, three arbiters shall be appointed.

7. The neighboring proprietors shall make the road passable; but if it be impassable, one may drive one's beast or vehicle across the land wherever one chooses.

9. The branches of trees that overshadow adjoining land shall be lopped to a height of 25 feet from the ground.

10. Fruit that falls from one's trees upon a neighbor's land may be collected by the owner of the tree.

Table VIII. Torts

2. If a man breaks another's limb, and does not compromise the injury, he shall be liable to retaliation.

3. For breaking a bone of a freeman, the penalty shall be 300 ases; of a slave, 150 ases.

6. A quadruped that has done damage on a neighbor's land shall be given up to the aggrieved party, unless the owner of it make compensation.

7. He that pastures his animals on a neighbor's land is liable to an action.

8. A man shall not remove his neighbor's crops to another field by incantations, nor conjure his corn.

11. If a man wrongfully fell his neighbor's trees, he shall pay a penalty of 25 ases in respect of each tree.

12. A person committing theft in the night may lawfully be killed.

18. A usurer exacting higher interest than the legal

rate of 10 per cent per annum is liable to fourfold damages.

23. False witnesses shall be hurled from the Tarpeian rock.

24. If one kill another accidentally, he shall atone for the deed by providing a ram to be sacrificed in place of him.

Table IX. Public Law

1. No laws shall be proposed affecting individuals only.

3. A judge or arbiter, appointed by the magistrate to decide a case, if guilty of accepting a bribe, shall be punished with death.

5. Whoever stirs up an enemy against the state, or betrays a citizen to an enemy, shall be punished capitally.

6. No one shall be put to death except after formal trial and sentence.

Table X. Sacred Law

1. A dead body shall not be buried or burned within the city.

9. Gold shall not be buried or burned with the dead, except such gold as the teeth have been fastened with.

Table XI. Supplementary

1. Patricians shall not intermarry with plebeians.

Table XII. Supplementary

2. If a slave commit a theft, or do any other injury, the master may, as an alternative to paying the damages assessed, surrender the delinquent.

5. The most recent law repeals all previous laws that are inconsistent with it.

—*(Collected from fragments in Latin writings, codified and printed in Hunter's Roman Law.)*

[1] An *as* was a bronze coin—(copper, tin, and lead)—weighing one pound.

ROME'S FIRST CONQUESTS

DURING the period of the monarchy, Rome had done something toward subduing her immediate neighbors. Among the Latins she had gained temporary ascendency. However, stories of wars fought under the kings, and, indeed, prior to the invasion of the Gauls, are largely legendary. We may not wholly ignore them, for they include some of the stirring tales in which the later Romans delighted; although partly fictitious, they were partly true; they set before us the ideals of those early years. The heroes of these battles prevailed because of their bravery and undaunted courage; because they put state first; because they spoke the truth and remained faithful to their agreements. Such qualities raised Rome to leadership in Italy and then higher still, until she was supreme in the ancient world. So, if we would rightly understand the ancient Romans, we must follow the course of their first wars as they themselves transmitted the accounts, from one generation to another by word of mouth, for several centuries. From this standpoint their value is by no means diminished because recent archæological investigations have thrown doubt upon the actual site of battles, or have brought into question the period during which some particular wall or fortification was constructed.

As we would naturally expect, the deposed Tarquin did not see his kingdom taken from him and his family banished, without making great effort to recover his realm. He hurried to his own kinspeople, the Etrurians, and besought them to restore him to power. Lars Porsena, king of Clusium and head of the Etrurian league, raised an army and marched upon Rome. He succeeded in taking the fortress on the Janiculum and forced the Roman army, sent to repulse him, back across their wooden bridge. So long as the bridge held, it gave the Etruscans access into Rome itself, but, if destroyed, the swift current of the Tiber

at this point supplied a wellnigh impassable barrier. Horatius, with two companions, faced the whole army of the Etruscans, to prevent the bridge from falling into their possession. When the Romans were about to cut it free, the two companions crossed safely, while Horatius, committing himself to the god of the river, sank with it. But the gods preserved him and enabled him to swim to shore. It is probable that at this period the bridge was made of floats.

Horatius was declared the saviour of his country.[z] "For this deed," we are told, "the Romans set up his statue in the Comitium, and gave him as much of the common land as he could plough in a day."

The Romans were able to defend their city, but they soon realized that they would be starved into submission, for famine began to stare them in the face. Then Caius Mucius stole into the Etruscan camp, intending to slay the king, Lars Porsena, for without their valiant leader it was thought the army would make a retreat. But by some mistake, Caius Mucius slew the scribe instead and was haled before the king. Threatened with torture unless he laid bare the situation at Rome, Caius voluntarily thrust his hand in a flame of fire, saying that glory was sufficient reward for pain. Puzzled by such a demonstration, the king bade him go, whereupon Caius then explained that three hundred Romans, of which number he was one, had pledged themselves to make attempts upon the king's life, in turn, until they were successful. Lars Porsena thereupon made peace with Rome, taking back from the Romans the territory around Veii, which they had previously conquered, and asking ten youths and ten maidens as hostages.

Cloelia, one of the maidens, delivered by the Romans as pledges of good faith, wearied of her exile and roused her companions to mount horses and swim across the Tiber. The Romans welcomed their children back, but when they found that they had escaped they immediately returned them to the king. Lars Porsena was so impressed with their fidelity that he thereupon gave the hostages free permission to go back to their parents, and departed with his army for his own land.

Disappointed in not gaining back his kingdom by Etrurian help, Tarquin stirred up the Latin cities. It was not difficult to rouse them to strike for their earlier independence. In consternation, the Romans appointed their first Dictator, Titus Lartius, and then, when the Thirty Latin Cities delayed, Aulus Postumius was chosen as second dictator. After a year or two had been spent in preparation, the army of the Latin League, under command of Octavius Manilius, together with Tarquin and his followers marched against Rome. A battle was fought at Lake Regillus, in Tusculum; and first one side, and then the other, gave way. At length Aulus, the Roman dictator, vowed a temple to Castor and Pollux were he victorious. And shortly after, the story goes, two soldiers appeared amid the Roman ranks. They fought for Rome, and the Thirty Cities gave way before their fury. When the battle ended, with plenty of spoils for the Romans, these two strangers turned toward Rome, watered their steeds in the Forum and disappeared as mysteriously as they had come. Such evidence was sufficient to satisfy the Romans that the twin gods, Castor and Pollux, had actually taken part in the battle in their behalf. A temple was erected to their honor in the Forum, and some of its pillars remain to the present time.

This ended any attempt of the proud Tarquin to regain his kingdom, but it did not end Rome's struggle. It was supposed, and rightly, that political changes in the city would tend to weaken the state, and envious neighbors even planned entirely to subdue the vigorous Roman settlement. For half a century Rome fought for her very existence. To be sure, in later years, stories of great conquest and glorious triumphs were told of these years, but when one tries to learn what was actually conquered, the records fall short.

To this half-legendary age belongs the story of Coriolanus. This Roman, it would appear, received the name in this way: When the Romans were besieging Corioli and were repulsed, he rallied the men and forced a way into the town. His companions called him Coriolanus, since he had "fluttered the Volscians in Corioli."

Coriolanus was a patrician, however, and when corn was finally received in Rome during a famine, he proposed that it be withheld from the plebeians until they agreed to give up their tribunes and ædiles, which officers they had recently won. Indignant, the tribune summoned him before the popular assembly, but Coriolanus could hope for little mercy at the hands of this body, and fled. He took refuge among the Volscians, enemies of his people, and incited them to march against Rome. Attius Tullius, their chief, was quite ready to do so, but the people had been given sufficient evidence of Rome's skill in war and would not fight merely to satisfy a stranger. Shortly after, the great games drew many visitors to Rome and Attius Tullius, unknown to the consuls, cautioned them about leaving the Volscians within their city after nightfall. Fearing trouble, the consuls issued a proclamation to the effect that Volscians must depart from Rome before sundown. Naturally, these people felt that some slight was offered them and were thereupon ready to comply with Coriolanus' request and offer battle.

Coriolanus led them first against the Latin cities, which gave way before them. When it was known that the victorious army was on its way to Rome, the city was prostrated by the news, for so many wars had exhausted the Roman army. Accordingly, an embassy was sent to intercede for Rome, but Coriolanus would not confer with it. Then the priests were dispatched to plead for mercy. These were not more successful. At last it occurred to the city fathers to send the matrons of Rome, led by the wife and the mother of the rebellious Roman. The sight was too much for Coriolanus; he exclaimed: "Mother, thine is the victory; thou hast saved Rome, but destroyed thy son." Some stories say that the repentant Roman died in grief, an exile. Others hold that the Volscians put him to death for deceiving them. In gratitude, however, for their delivery, the Romans raised a temple to Woman's Fortune in the Forum.

The story of Cincinnatus is instructive for the light it throws upon the sterling worth of the early Roman. It was said that Cincinnatus, a retired soldier, was plowing his

fields, when officers of Rome appeared before him and begged him to head an attack against enemies who were threatening the city. Leaving his team standing in the field, he went at once, won a victory, was given a splendid triumph by the people, and then went quietly back to his farm to resume the work where he had left it.

We come upon an historic event in 493 B. C. when Spurius Cassius formed a great league with the Latin cities, for the purpose of quelling the Æquians and Volscians. The Hernici joined the aggressive league in 486 B. C. For fifty years this alliance prevented any attack upon Rome from the south, and the Etruscans were not free to wage wars of aggression because the Gauls were harassing them upon the north. Indeed, several factors worked for the advantage of Rome in these years. Not only were the Etruscans occupied in defending their northern territory, but their proud fleet had shortly before suffered total defeat at the hands of Hiero of Syracuse. At the same time, the Samnites were prevented from making raids upon lands belonging to Rome. Southern Etruria was assailed by the Romans, who besieged Veii for ten years. During this war Rome's army for the first time was forced to keep the field both summer and winter. When the town was carried, it was sacked and laid waste.

Three hundred and ninety B. C. is the date usually assigned for the invasion of the Gauls. They had spread over the Po valley, and, while appropriating this fertile region, did not give up their nomadic ways, but continued to make occasional raids. This time they drew within twelve miles of Rome before an army was prepared to meet them. At Allia a battle was fought, and the impression of this Gallic attack was never forgotten by the Romans and their descendants. These Gauls were big men, carrying huge shields. Their hair was long and they made a furious onset. Only a few Romans escaped from the field of disaster to carry news of a defeat to the anxious ones at home. When their report was heard, many fled from the town. Even the Vestal Virgins hid the sacred utensils used in their services and hurried away.

The patricians determined to guard the citadel on

Capitoline Hill. The rest of Rome was left practically deserted, and when the Gauls approached the walls and found them unguarded, and the gates unlocked, they thought some ambush awaited them and quietly remained outside. After a day or two they ventured in and could scarcely believe themselves free to pillage and burn as they would. The fort upon Capitoline held out for some time. At length, the story goes, when sentinels slept, some Gaul found a by-path up the hill and would have overtaken the camp had not the sacred geese of Juno been frightened into loud cackling, which awoke the guards and saved the day.

Presently rumor came that the territory of the Gauls had been attacked upon the north, and they left as speedily as they had come. This contact with them made a tremendous impression upon the Romans, and many years after, when war was to be waged with the Gauls, it required a brave man to inspire the Romans with hope of victory.

Now the task of rebuilding the city fell upon those who survived the invasion. When danger was passed, the exiles returned home, and before long the buildings were restored and Rome breathed freely once again.

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[z] See Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome.*

EARLY ROMAN IDEALS

WE HAVE seen that during their first centuries the Romans were an agricultural people, occupied in times of peace with the preparation of the soil, cultivation of the crops, with the sowing and the harvesting, after the manner of farmers in all ages. Upon the outbreak of hostilities they would leave their plows and take their places in the Roman army; when the fighting was over they would return to take up the tasks temporarily abandoned. Their dwellings were of the simplest; their fare, vegetables and bread made of the grain they raised and ground into meal. Meat was used but little.

The family was the unit of the state and was more inclusive than ours today. It embraced the father and mother, sons and daughters and their families, and the slaves. Over it the *pater familias* was supreme, having power of life and death over each and every member. Upon the birth of a child he could decide whether or not it should be nurtured or exposed. As a matter of fact, in early times the Romans desired large families and the right to abandon a healthy babe was rarely exercised.

The wife passed from the control of her father to that of her husband. The position of women in Rome was superior to that of historic Greece; they were highly respected and were devoted wives and mothers. Until the late Republic and Empire, divorce was rare. In vital matters involving the welfare of the wife, the *pater familias* was bound by custom to assemble her male relatives before taking action, although he was not required to follow their counsel. Cases are recorded of men having been fined by magistrates for divorcing wives without previously consulting their kinsmen.

Upon the death of the *pater familias*, new families were formed by the sons, into whose care the mother and unmarried sisters automatically fell unless some other guardian had been provided.

The Roman state has been described as "the family writ large"; it was composed of clans which were only several families having a common ancestor. The stern and rigid discipline which fostered implicit obedience to the will of the father in the family was yielded in the state to *law*, the welfare of individuals being as naught in comparison to the welfare of Rome.

In the early Republic it was the *pater familias* only who could own property, buy and sell, and have recognition in the courts. During the public magistracy of his son he yielded to him as did every other citizen during his tenure of office; as quickly as his term expired, the son returned to follow henceforth as before the mandates of the father of the family.

While many of the tales which have survived from remote times may have had little or no foundation, nevertheless they were perpetuated by a people as exemplifying their ideals. When a sister mourned the death of her betrothed, a son of neighboring people who became involved in some hostility with Rome, her brother instantly stabbed her, exclaiming: "So perish all who mourn an enemy of Rome." Numerous instances are cited of fathers who without a murmur pronounced sentence of death upon their sons when these proved lacking in fidelity to Rome. If defeated, regardless of circumstances, fathers might refuse to receive sons again into their families. No matter how fierce the strife between nobles and commoners, as surely as danger threatened all differences were immediately dropped until with united forces they repulsed the enemies of Rome; whereupon they would resume the conflict thus interrupted. In this particular they present a sharp contrast to the Greeks who could seldom put aside their personal grudges long enough to dispatch a foe. Even in face of the Persian fleet, it will be remembered, Themistocles had to precipitate battle by a ruse lest part of the Hellenic army should withdraw because of jealousies. This Roman custom of standing firm for the state, in season and out of season, regardless of all other issues, led to the ultimate leadership of the Eternal City in the civilized world just as in early centuries it made her supreme among the Latins

in central Italy and in the peninsula. Lack of such a tendency in Greece led to the untimely disruption of the Hellenic states.

It is less true to claim for the Romans that they were a religious people than to say that they were punctilious in observance of religious rites. They gave allegiance to their deities; in exchange they expected protection. Since failure of individuals to observe the cult might incur the displeasure of a deity and the state thereby suffer, it was rigidly required that the gods of the family and state should be propitiated by the customary rites. Just as the *pater familias* offered sacrifices on the family altar and as the farmer made the usual offerings to the gods of the fields where four farms met, so the state religion was given over to priests, who made it the subject of their special study. Lack of sentiment was characteristic of this nation, no more so in religion than in other directions.

The joy in life and exuberance so pronounced with the Hellenes were absent among the Romans. They were a grave, austere folk, viewing mirth with a disapproval comparable to that displayed later by the Puritans. Any exhibition of the emotions was frowned upon. Cato fined a Roman senator for embracing his wife in the presence of their daughter. Any deviation from fixed standards was denounced; strict morality was engendered.

"Foreigners, coming in contact with them, remarked deficiencies in the manners and graces of social life. Indeed, they were rather hard and severe, as well as suspicious and censorious, not only towards neighboring communities, but also toward one another; and a keenly intrusive and meddlesome intolerance, manifesting itself in their social relations, was directed against departures from their somewhat narrow code of approved habits and customs. Partly as a result, perhaps, of this pressure towards uniformity, they produced but few striking individualities; but competence they had, and common sense, and—so it seemed to unsympathetic observers—commonplaceness. . . .

"They were not eminent in the domain of pure intellect, for they were especially occupied in applying intelligence to the practical side of life. . . . Their morals, tinged with

asceticism, occupied a large share in their consciousness. Mere amusement and delight in life seemed to them generally to deserve some reprobation, while gravity, even to the degree of austerity, was highly esteemed."

Rome is sometimes spoken of as though she had started from the first on a plan of conquest, first of the peninsula and then of Mediterranean lands. Such was not the case. The explanation of her expansion is found in part in the solidarity of her citizens: in the unvarying unity in face of a foe. Time and again friction started in the protection of the frontiers; when hostilities began the same grim determination to emerge victorious was manifest. Not until their triumph over the army of Pyrrhus were the Romans filled with a premonition of what they might achieve; not until they had won over the greatest military leader of antiquity—the Napoleon of their day—were they convinced of their ability to meet foreign as well as peninsular foes.

With conquest was to come great wealth for which they were not ready. Whether individuals or nations be concerned, the results are similar when inordinate riches precede the discipline of education and the attainment of culture; gross indulgences and vulgar display of wealth are inevitable. Yet, so deeply were the early ideals impressed upon this people that law and order remained potent forces even in times of extremity. Even when former conditions had disappeared never to return, prince after prince sought vainly to revive those customs of simplicity and austerity that had made the early Republic unique. With the transformation of the population from rural to urban, with the means of satisfying their desires and with leisure, it was inevitable that the simplicity of bygone centuries should likewise vanish. It is possible to parallel the early primitive conditions with those that obtained in our own Republic when hard work, humble dwellings and simple fare sufficed; when homespun apparel and, withal, upright conduct was the rule. The censorship of early New England in matters of morality was not unlike that of Rome.

In days of corruption and decay civilizations present certain similarities. In their beginnings and so long as

those principles which bring them to greatness predominate, they exemplify striking contrasts and national traits. Seeking these in Rome, we are met with unostentatious living, the routine of toil common to agriculturalists, implicit obedience demanded by family and state, the subservience of the individual to the state. Practicality, order, system—these were the dominating factors.

ANNEXING A PENINSULA

BY 367 B. C. the question of political equality within the city of Rome had been settled. Upon the abolition of the monarchy wars of defense had followed, lasting over fifty years. During these years Rome had held her own against various foes, and was even now as strong as any power south of the Apennines. In the next century she was destined to win, step by step, the Italian peninsula, and more than this, to organize the state thus won into a firm nation. Others before had proven themselves efficient conquerors; it was left for Rome to excel all others in the matter of unification and government.

The wars upon which the Roman army now launched differed from those previously fought in several particulars. In the first place, heretofore, Rome's battles had been fought within two or three days' march of the city. For the ensuing century, armies were called away from Rome, among peoples of different languages and traditions. Again, so far Roman soldiers had been confident that they possessed military skill equal to that of their hostile neighbors. Yet before the next period was to close, they were fated to cross swords with Greek soldiers, and to face the Macedonian phalanx.

Relations with the Latins should be kept in mind. Rome thus far was but the leader of the Latin league, whose various cities possessed perfect equality with her. Terms of a treaty concluded between Rome and the Latins after the battle of Lake Regillus have come down to us:

"Let there be peace between the Romans and all the Latin cities as long as heaven and earth shall remain in their present position.

"Let them neither make war upon one another themselves, nor bring in foreign enemies, nor grant a safe passage to those who shall make war upon either.

"Let them all with their forces assist one another when

attacked by enemies, and let both have equal shares of the spoils and booty taken in their common wars.

"Let suits relating to private contracts be determined in ten days among that people among whom the contract was made.

"Let nothing be added to, or taken from, these treaties except by the joint consent of the Romans and all the Latins."

However, this equality was not destined to endure. In the first place, Rome was obliged to bear the brunt of wars directed against herself and the Latin League, and naturally appropriated the lion's share of the spoils. It came about as an inevitable result, that Rome made peace and declared war, settled colonists where she would, without consulting her ally in the least. Thus the political rights of the Latins were ignored, while their civil rights remained untouched.

Hostilities arose first with the Samnites, a vigorous race of mountaineers, who realized the danger threatening the various Italian tribes as Rome grew in power. A loose confederacy bound the different branches of the Samnites together, although there was no strong bond of union among them. They herded their flocks upon the mountains and made occasional raids into the adjacent valleys, where plunder was certain, and in 343 B. C. some of their number attacked a settlement of Samnites who had taken up lands in the Campania and broken loose from their mountaineer kinsmen. The settlement at Capua appealed to Rome for aid, which was refused until the people agreed to come under Roman protection if assistance were given them. Thereupon the Roman army was dispatched to their relief, and within three years Rome had taken possession of the surrounding districts.

Now a new danger to the growing state arose, this time from among her own kinsmen. The Latins wearied of Rome's attempt to lessen their privileges and demanded complete union. One of the consuls, they insisted, and half the senate, should be chosen from their numbers. This request was instantly refused, whereupon war broke out between Rome and the Latin League. We know very little

about the struggle, but in the end Latium fell to the share of Rome. The Latin League was abolished, save for its religious functions, and its various cities were bound to Rome by individual treaties.

Meantime the Samnites had not been idle. They saw with clear vision the fate of their nation and all others who yielded not to Rome, and were disposed to bringing on fresh hostilities. In 327 B. C. the Samnites stationed a garrison in Neapolis—later Naples. Rome asked that it be withdrawn, and the Samnites refused unless Rome would remove a colony she had planted upon their borders. Allying herself with tribes in southern Italy, Rome sent an army against Neapolis. Within a year the city surrendered. Little is known about the movements of the two armies until 321 B. C., when suddenly the Samnite chief achieved a triumph by entrapping the whole Roman army in a mountain fast. Unable to retreat and feeling that it was hopeless to fight, the generals surrendered. Pontius, the Samnite leader, did not wish to take advantage of the enemy's plight, but stipulated for a permanent peace, with the acknowledged independence of his nation. To these conditions the entrapped generals were powerless to object, and the whole Roman army was sent under the yoke, their arms taken from them. Six hundred hostages were retained, while the rest were allowed to return home, all officers having pledged themselves to get sanction of this treaty from the senate.

When the report of this inglorious defeat reached Rome, the city was cast into mourning. The senate stoutly refused to recognize the treaty made by the defeated generals, in spite of the fact that this was presented as the only honorable course to take. All who had consented to it were returned to Pontius, who refused to retaliate upon them for Rome's dishonorable policy. "Put your army back in the mountains," insisted the Samnite chief; this naturally was not done, and the war went on. In course of a few months the Samnites lost what they had previously won, and in 304 B. C. a treaty ended this second war. By it Rome gained little more than she had in the beginning and both sides felt that it was merely a truce.

Trouble with the Etruscans on the north caused the

consul, Fabius Maximus, to proceed upon a new policy of carrying the war at once into the land of the enemy. Roman leadership was already recognized as far north as the Ciminian Forest, in southern Etruria. Beyond this a chain of Etruscan cities now made war against Rome. With a series of brilliant victories, Fabius extended Roman sway to the Apennines.

In 298 B. C. complaints reached Rome that the Samnites were once more infringing upon lands subject to her, and the army was dispatched thither. However, it occurred to the Samnite chief to lead his soldiers north to join the Gauls and Etruscans, who might be depended upon to oppose Roman advance. Consternation filled the mind of the Roman general when this union of opposed forces became known. The Etruscans failed to stand by the allied armies, and, at the battle of Sentinum, Rome won with heavy losses. The Samnites continued to carry on desultory fighting, but peace was made in 290 B. C. The leadership of Rome was acknowledged, and the Samnites agreed to furnish help in time of war. To make the conquest sure, Rome at once planted colonies in their midst. With the conclusion of this treaty, Rome was left supreme in Italy from the Apennines to the Greek cities in the south.

We have seen that before the sixth century the Greeks established colonies in the Italian peninsula. These grew to such proportions that the southern part of Italy received the name Magna Græcia. These Greek cities carried on extensive commerce and became wealthy and indolent. As they weakened, some fell to the share of the tyrant of Syracuse, while others simply sank into decay. Tarentum still remained important and maintained a fair trade. The Romans had entered into an agreement to send no ships into their waters, but in 282 B. C. a few Roman vessels put into the Tarentum harbor. Feeling sure that this boded ill for them, the Tarentines fell upon the ships, sank five of them, killed the admiral, and either killed the sailors or sold them into slavery. Rome demanded satisfaction, and Tarentum delayed until she found a willing ally in Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. This Grecian king, emulating Alexander, wished

to build up a great empire, and he imagined that opportunity awaited him in the west.

In 280 B. C. Pyrrhus landed in Italy with 25,000 soldiers and many elephants. Now for the first time Rome was called upon to meet troops presumably better trained in military tactics than her own. The Roman legion had never encountered the Macedonian phalanx, and the result could not be foreseen. In a battle fought at Heraclea the elephant proved too much for the Roman cavalry, and though the army stood its ground, the victory belonged to Pyrrhus. However, the Greek king had sustained such heavy losses that he sued for peace, but the Romans refused to treat with him unless he withdrew his army from their peninsula. The following year, another battle was fought with similar results; the Romans were defeated, but their opponents were badly crippled.

Pyrrhus now went into Sicily, where he remained until 275 B. C., when the third battle was fought with Rome. This time the Romans know how to meet the onset of the elephants, and they won the day. Pyrrhus in disappointment went home, and without his support Tarentum could not long hold out against a Roman siege. In 272 B. C. the city fell to the share of Rome, leaving the whole Italian peninsula south of the Apennines undisputed.

It was one thing to win this territory, and quite a different thing to keep it. This last was the part in which Rome excelled. She never passed on to new territory while the old was yet unsettled. As far as she went, the country was bound to her with lasting bonds. Two particular measures were taken to make conquests secure: the planting of colonies, and the maintenance of good roads. These facilitated a consolidation such as the world has never seen before or since.

Roman subjects were classified as citizens and allies. The citizens were of two classes, those who possessed full rights, and those who possessed passive rights. To the first division belonged the men of Rome and the early colonists who went forth from Rome to make their homes in new lands taken in conquest. This land was public domain and was given to those who wished to benefit them-

selves by taking a share in it. Again, many towns in Latium and the Campania were merged in the state; moreover, in coast towns, it was not deemed prudent to leave the original inhabitants in control, but, rather, a garrison was stationed in the maritime cities, this garrison being composed of Roman citizens. The political advantages conferred by full citizenship—voting, eligibility for office, and share in making the laws—could be shared only in the city of Rome. If one lived elsewhere, these privileges could be enjoyed only when he returned to Rome.

The passive rights of citizens allowed them to intermarry with the Romans and to carry on commerce with one another. Cities possessing these rights generally managed their own local affairs, to their own satisfaction. The full Roman citizenship was a hardship rather than a privilege in early times, when people preferred their own local administration to any other. Hardest was the condition of the maritime cities, where a garrison was stationed to administer municipal affairs.

Finally, all conquered tribes, aside from those given full or passive citizenship, were known as allies. They furnished soldiers in time of war, and were subservient to Rome in questions of peace, war, and the coining of money.

With their colonies scattered all over the peninsula and their roads radiating in various directions, the Romans had already secured a firm hold upon Italy. The old saying, "All roads lead to Rome" was literally true. Cross roads were discouraged. To make the whole country dependent upon the one great city was an aim soon realized.

A FOREIGN WAR

I

CARTHAGE was originally a Phœnician trading post, founded at an early time by exiles from Tyre. For centuries the Carthaginians served as carriers for the ancient world and by this means became very wealthy. Bent wholly upon trade, they never developed a strong political state, although their settlement expanded into a great city, and many towns and wide districts became their dependencies. Having no political aspirations, and desiring simply to maintain an uninterrupted commerce, Carthage merely crippled the commerce of her dependencies and imposed heavy tributes upon them.

It was natural to expect that the growing city of Rome would be watched by the Carthaginians. Probably as early as 509 B. C. the following treaty was made between the two cities:

"There shall be friendship between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians and their allies, on these conditions:

"Neither the Romans nor their allies are to sail beyond the Fair Promontory, unless driven by stress of weather or the fear of enemies. If any one of them be driven ashore, he shall not buy nor take aught for himself save what is needful for the repair of his ship and the service of the gods, and he shall depart within five days.

"Men landing for traffic shall strike no bargain save in the presence of a herald or town clerk. Whatever is sold in the presence of these, let the price be secured to the seller on the credit of the state—that is to say, if such sale be in Libya or Sardinia.

"If any Roman comes to the Carthaginian province in Sicily, he shall enjoy all rights enjoyed by others. The Carthaginians shall do no injury to the people of Ardea,

Antium, Laurentium, Circeii, Tarracina, nor any other people of the Latins that are subject to Rome.

"From those townships even which are not subject to Rome they shall hold their hands; and if they take one, shall deliver it unharmed to the Romans. They shall build no fort in Latium; and if they enter the district in arms, they shall not stay a night therein."[11]

This agreement was renewed from time to time, and during Pyrrhus' invasion of Italy and Sicily, a defensive treaty was made between the two peoples—the Romans and Carthaginians.

Carthage possessed the greatest navy of her time and had already made the Mediterranean Sea her own. Rome, with her extensive coast line, needed outlets for her commerce, and especially needed to be able to defend her shores. Unless complete control of the Mediterranean was to be accorded the Carthaginians, sooner or later the two states must measure swords. An indefinite delay of the struggle might have obtained but for unexpected events which brought matters to a climax.

Sicily had long been a bone of contention between the Greeks and Carthaginians. As the power of the Greeks lessened, Carthage's territory grew until she held the entire western portion of the island.

Upon the death of a tyrant of Syracuse ruling the southeastern portion of Sicily, a band of Campanian mercenaries, who had fought for him, were disbanded. On their way north, these soldiers seized the city of Messana, killed the citizens and took captive their wives and children. Here they established themselves and divided the property with one another, taking the name Mamertines, or Sons of Mars. The Carthaginians and Hiero, the new tyrant of Syracuse, felt it necessary to drive out these daring outlaws, and the latter, realizing their inability to hold out alone, hesitated as to whether they would best seek Roman or Carthaginian protection.

When an embassy from Messana came before the Roman senate and asked for protection, this body scarce knew what course to take. There was not the slightest justification for the conduct of these mercenaries, yet if Rome held

aloof, Carthage would certainly make the most of the opportunity to increase her Sicilian territory. Unwilling to take the responsibility for such decision as now was offered them, the senate summoned the people and left the question to them. It is plain that a strong element in the senate desired to check the power of Carthage, and the people clamoured for war. It would be difficult to find another occasion in Roman history when so critical a policy hung in the balance. It meant, in reality, whether Rome was to be a continental or a world power.

" 'It was a moment of the deepest significance in the history of the world, when the envoys of the Mamertines appeared in the Roman senate.' If the Romans acceded to their request, they would not only do violence to their own feelings of right and wrong, by receiving into alliance a band of adventurers stained with the worst crimes, whose very kinsmen in Rhegium they had just punished for the same offense, but they would throw aside their views of establishing a mere sovereignty in Italy for the wider and more dangerous policy of interference with the outside world—a policy which could not fail to bring them into complicated relations with powers strictly outside their own land.'"[2]

It was determined to aid the Mamertines, and the first Punic[z] war was begun. Before tracing the main events of this struggle, let us compare the resources of the belligerents upon the eve of their hostilities.

Carthage, as we have seen, was a wealthy commercial power. Riches flowed into the private treasuries of her citizens from their trade; vast wealth accrued to the state treasury each year from the mines of Spain and from tributes imposed upon the dependencies. Instead of expending such wealth upon mercenaries who might enlarge the borders of the state, it had been harbored within the city of Carthage itself. Thus upon the eve of war, the treasuries were overflowing. Again, as we have noticed, Carthage possessed the one great fleet in the third century before Christ, and her many trading outposts were of undoubted advantage to her. In her citizens she was both fortunate and unfortunate. They were ready to defend

their state, to be sure, but they were very jealous of each other. This even interfered with leadership being left long in the hands of the ablest generals. In leaders, Carthage was fortunate, but even her two greatest generals, Hamilcar and Hannibal, suffered greatly because the state would not give adequate support, and hampered them in the most annoying way by withholding the pay of the soldiers. Besides this weakness, the tributary tribes hated Carthage because of her high-handed oppression. Tribute to one-half the yearly production was required of some, and all were bitterly oppressed. While possessing a splendid fleet, the land forces were altogether mercenaries, and these were not accustomed to such rigorous discipline as were the Romans.

Rome, on the other hand, had no great treasury to draw upon. For three hundred years she had been fighting, first for existence, and latterly, for territory. Her commerce was in its infancy, while her people were largely farmers, who by thrift and industry had prospered. Lacking the opulent burghers of Carthage, however, Rome was fortunate in her substantial citizen body, accustomed to the hardships of war, and not yet given over to the indulgences of peace. All Romans stood for Rome—the humblest as well as the aristocrat. Rome was the city in which the fortunes of all were involved. Having but a small fleet, and that indifferently maintained, Rome had an army which had come forth victorious from a war with Greek mercenaries. This army and her strong political organization that had followed close upon the heel of conquest, were the two important sources of Roman strength.

Any comparison of Roman and Carthaginian resources must take into account the character of the two races. The Carthaginian was greatly elated by victory and deeply depressed by defeat. The Roman possessed a fortitude which neither success nor failure could shake, and never does the Roman character shine forth more courageously than during the dark years of reverses met during the Punic wars.

When it was decided to dispatch help to the Mamertines, an army was sent into Sicily. Meantime, those among the Mamertines who favored Carthage had given the city into

her charge, and the Romans found a garrison in possession of Messana. Nevertheless, by deceit the garrison was dislodged and in turn the Roman army occupied. As was expected, Carthage declared war. During the first two years of the struggle—from 264-262 B. C.—Rome gained control of the eastern portion of Sicily, and Hiero, the new tyrant of Syracuse, transferred his alliance from Carthage to Rome.

Agrigentum, a most important point, was fortified by Carthage, but after a seven months' siege it fell to the share of Rome. Elated by the victory, the Romans now determined to drive the Carthaginians out of the island altogether. This, however, could not be accomplished without a fleet. Such ships as Rome possessed were old and out of date, and a wrecked Carthaginian galley served as a model for the new fleet. Within two years one hundred ships were ready. Realizing their superiority over their enemies in hand-to-hand conflicts, the Romans provided their ships with drawbridges, which could be thrown down upon Carthaginian decks, holding firmly by means of iron clamps. Thus the regular land forces could be brought into service.

In 260 B. C. the first naval engagement occurred off Mylæ on the northeastern coast of Sicily. The Carthaginians were so sure of themselves that they did not take ordinary precautions, and they were consequently defeated by Duilius, the Roman admiral. For this, their first naval victory, the Romans gave Duilius a splendid triumph and erected a pillar in his honor.

In 256 B. C. it was thought best to carry the war into Africa, and a fleet of three hundred and thirty ships set out under the Roman commanders, Regulus and Vulso. They encountered the Carthaginian fleet off southern Sicily and defeated it. Then they proceeded to Africa and landed near Carthage. It is difficult to understand how such stupid blunders could have been made by competent leaders as were committed on both sides in this war. Had Carthage been aggressive throughout, she might easily have crippled Rome. Now the Romans made a fatal mistake: Vulso was recalled to Rome with the greater part of the

army and fleet, it being deemed unnecessary to keep so many soldiers in Africa. The winter was wasted by both Romans and Carthaginians, and in the spring, Regulus was defeated, while the fleet sent to bring home the remnant of his army was wrecked on its return.

The war reverted to Sicily and for eight years nothing decisive occurred on either side. In 247 B. C. Hamilcar took control of the Carthaginian army, and decided to tire out the Romans. For six years the latter suffered constant defeat, and it seemed as though the island must be abandoned. The treasury was empty, and there had been fearful loss of men. The private citizens of Rome supplied the means for equipping a new fleet, and before the enemy was aware of any change, this fleet was upon them. The Carthaginians had lost their fleets, and now could only command such vessels as they could quickly muster to meet the new Roman navy. After two battles in which Rome was victor, the Carthaginian general felt it was useless to longer hold out, and he sued for peace. The terms required by Rome were difficult but were not deeply humiliating. The following terms were stipulated:

"The Carthaginians shall evacuate Sicily and all islands lying between Italy and Sicily.

"The allies of neither of the parties to the treaty shall be attacked by the other.

"Neither party shall impose any contribution, nor erect any public building, nor enlist soldiers in the dominions of the other, nor make any compact of friendship with the allies of the other.

"The Carthaginians shall within ten years pay to the Romans two thousand two hundred talents (about $4,000,000), and a thousand on the spot, and shall restore all prisoners without ransom to the Romans."[13]

Carthage was shortly beset by her mercenaries, whom she could not pay, and Rome took advantage of the situation to appropriate Sardinia and Corsica. When Carthage strenuously opposed such robbery, Rome threatened war. It was this unwarranted action which caused Hamilcar to hate Rome with undying hatred.

For the next twenty years Rome was busily occupied in

organizing her new territory. The tyrant of Syracuse was left independent in Sicily, which otherwise became a Roman province. Sardinia and Corsica together constituted the second province. Over both these provinces a governor was placed, he having control of the army, acting as executive and judge. From his acts there was no appeal. While heretofore Rome had never imposed tribute, but had allowed her conquered people in Italy to contribute soldiers in time of war, tribute was now imposed upon the provinces.

Rome's provincial administration was destined to become important, and it is interesting to watch its development from this point.

Two wars occurred during the twenty years following the peace with Carthage in 241 B. C., the first being a naval engagement to clear the Adriatic Sea of infesting pirates, and the second a war with Gaul. After the Punic war, the Romans settled colonists in lands claimed by the Gauls, who saw in this action the beginning of an effort to drive them out of their territory. In the war which followed in consequence of their revolt, Rome extended her boundaries to the Alps, annexing into her own state Cisalpine Gaul. She was occupied in colonizing this region when suddenly her attention was averted from enemies upon the north to a greater danger from the south.

II

The Romans undoubtedly understood that the peace of 241 B. C. would not be lasting. Certainly all Carthaginians regarded it as temporary. The unpardonable aggression of Rome's seizure of Sardinia and Corsica at a time when Carthage was endangered by the Mercenary war, and her demand for $1,500,000 indemnity when the Phœnicians expostulated, kindled undying hatred for Rome in the breast of Hamilcar Barca. He vowed deep revenge for the unwarranted robbery, and devoted his life and the lives of his sons to the cause of vindicating his country.

It is impossible to understand the attitude of Carthage

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1 Trans. in *Source Book of Roman History:* Munro, p. 89.
2 Mommsen's *Student's History of Rome,* p. 128.
3 Munro's *Source Book,* p. 91.
x Punicus, the Latin term for the Carthaginians.

during the second Punic war without considering political conditions within the city itself. Two political parties existed, the peace party, and the war party. The peace party included the wealthy, indolent, leisure-loving aristocrats, whose aspirations were merely commercial. Like the traders found in Tyre and Sidon by early Assyrian conquerors, they desired peace on almost any terms, for peace alone rendered their merchant-ships safe upon the sea. The question of maintaining honor and integrity concerned them not at all. The war party, on the other hand, included the progressive, generous-hearted, patriotic element of the population, who were not content to barter for peace today and leave their children without a country tomorrow. First one and then the other party would gain control, but the peace party had the advantage of being able to buy supporters for its cause. No position was too untenable, no argument too absurd to find favor with its adherents. When Hamilcar returned home, after conducting the first Punic war, the peace party called him to answer for the Mercenary war, which, it was said, he had caused by promising to pay the mercenaries, when in reality he was unable to do so. This preposterous charge failed because of its apparent absurdity. Nevertheless, it was plain to Hamilcar that upon him devolved not alone the task of vindicating his country but of himself providing the money and soldiers for such a purpose. Carthage could not be depended upon to provide either the one or the other.

Accordingly, in 237 B. C. Hamilcar collected such soldiers as remained to him and crossed into Spain. With clear vision, he saw that the gold and silver of Hispania could be made to yield treasure for equipping a soldiery, and that the barbarians, when conquered, would make sturdy fighters. So far Carthage had maintained only commercial relations with Spain, and hence that hatred so generally found in her dependencies was altogether lacking here.

Hamilcar was successful from the start. Within a few years he had penetrated to the River Ebro and had collected a large army. Upon his death—it was not left for him to carry out his plan—his son-in-law Hasdrubal

Ancient Roman Bridge of Momentano

assumed command of the army. He organized the empire which Hamilcar had brought so quickly into being, and founded New Carthage for its capital. The natives had discovered that it was to their advantage to serve generals who treated them well and paid them promptly; consequently many flocked to the Carthaginian standards.

In 221 B. C. Hasdrubal was assassinated by one who held a personal grudge, and Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, succeeded to the command of the army and was recognized by the government at home. Before taking up the career of this great general of antiquity—greatest perhaps of all military leaders—let us give brief attention to the character of the man himself.

It is significant to note that we know Hannibal only through his enemies. The Carthaginians left no records; yet in spite of the hostile channels through which our knowledge comes, the character of this military genius stands forth with marvelous brilliancy. Late in life, when his mighty plans had failed, Hannibal told for the first time of his early consecration to the service of Carthage. While his father was offering the usual sacrifices to the gods, before starting out upon his campaigns in Spain, he kept his son with him. Asking the lad if he would like to accompany him upon the campaign, Hannibal eagerly replied that he would. Thereupon Hamilcar bade him place his hand upon the consecrated sacrifices and swear eternal enmity to Rome. This naturally made a deep impression upon the boy's mind. He believed that the vindication of Carthage was his mission and he gave himself to it with unwavering fidelity.

"Nature had bestowed upon him gifts both mental and physical, which were no mean qualifications for his mighty task; education and association had completed nature's work. Brought up from his infancy to cherish thoughts of vengeance on Rome, trained as a soldier in early youth under his father's eye, already highly distinguished, as the commander of the Spanish cavalry, alike for personal bravery and for the higher qualities of a leader, Hannibal was especially fitted to carry out the great projects of his father. Anger, envy, and meanness have written his his-

tory, but have not been able to mar the pure and noble image which it presents. . . . 'Every page of the history of the period attests his genius as a general; and his gifts as a statesman were, after the peace with Rome, no less conspicuously displayed in the reform of the Carthaginian constitution, and in the unparalleled influence which, as a foreign exile, he exercised in the cabinets of the eastern potentates. The power which he wielded over men is shown by his incomparable control over an army of various nations and many tongues—an army which never, in the worst times, mutinied against him. He was a great man; wherever he went, he riveted the eyes of all.' "[1]

In 226 B. C. two settlements, Saguntum and Emporium, on the east coast of Spain, realized that Phœnician power was drawing near them, and sought the protection of Rome. Accordingly, Rome made a treaty with Carthage whereby these towns should be left unmolested and stipulated that the Ebro should be the northern boundary of Carthaginian Spain. Seven years later, however, Hannibal felt ready to begin his march into Italy, and believing that the Romans were but biding their time to make war upon his people, he precipitated the struggle by taking Saguntum. Immediately Rome sent her ambassadors to the Carthaginian senate, asking that Hannibal's act be repudiated and an indemnity paid. But Spanish gold had been sent too freely into Carthage to allow the senate to recall Hannibal at this juncture, whereupon Rome declared war.

It is significant again to note the situation of each country upon the eve of renewed hostilities. The ultimate object of the Spanish campaign had not been generally understood in Carthage itself at the beginning, although the Barca family had fondly cherished the secret hope of revenge upon Rome. The Phœnicians could feel reasonably well prepared for war now, while if a longer delay was made, Rome too would be prepared, as at this time she was not. A strong infantry, splendid Numidian cavalry, and a well-organized empire in Spain as headquarters, gave Hannibal fair prospect of success.

Rome, on the other hand, had intended to further discomfit her rival, but had expected to do so at her pleasure

and advantage. She had been fighting the Gauls and subsequently organizing their territory, and she had utterly failed to understand the advantage of Spanish operations in strengthening the Carthaginians. When the gauntlet was thrown down she would not fail to accept the challenge, but her delay in getting started proved how little the real situation was understood by the Roman senate.

Hannibal chose to prosecute the war by land rather than sea for two reasons: in the first place, he believed that the Gauls of both Trans- and Cisalpine Gaul would come to his support, and that the old enemies of Rome would gradually fall away and join his standards, and, secondly, to have employed a fleet to any great extent would have meant that he must fall back upon Carthage for support, and Carthage had proved before a "bruised reed." Leaving Spain guarded by 15,000 Libyans, and Libya protected by the same number of Spaniards, Hannibal set out upon his famous campaign to Italy, taking 90,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and 58 elephants. Crossing the Ebro, he subdued hostile tribes between the river and the Pyrenees. This district had been regarded by the Romans as a sort of buffer territory, and they had rested secure in its protection. Leaving plenty of soldiers to hold the land just conquered, and sending home 10,000 soldiers drawn from tribes in Spain whom he soon perceived to be disheartened at the journey ahead of them, Hannibal crossed the Pyrenees and reached the Rhone with 50,000 foot soldiers and 9,000 cavalry.

In 218 B. C. Sempronius Longus and Cornelius Scipio were elected consuls. In view of the coming war, Sempronius was sent to Sicily with a good sized army, while Scipio was sent into Gaul, thence to proceed to Spain. Because of negotiations between Hannibal and the Cisalpine Gauls, these tribes had broken out in revolt, driving out the Roman colonists recently planted in their midst at Placentia and Cremona, and seizing the commanders of the fortresses. Putting down this revolt, Scipio proceeded leisurely on his way to Massilia, when he suddenly heard that Hannibal had reached the Rhone.

Upon reaching the Rhone, Hannibal found his progress

checked by Gauls somewhat north of Massilia. Sending a detachment north to a comparatively easy crossing, he waited until these troops had attacked the rear of the Gauls, whereupon he fell upon their front ranks. They were utterly routed and in comparative ease the remainder of the Carthaginian army crossed the Rhone. From the Allobroges, who occupied the angle between the Rhone and the Isere rivers, the Carthaginian soldiers received necessary food and clothing.

It is not known by what route Hannibal crossed the Alps. Each path has in turn been suggested as the one through which his army probably came into Italy. Certain it is that greatest hardships attended the march over the mountains. It was late autumn before Hannibal reached the Alps, although he had expected to make an earlier crossing. Avalanches fell upon the army in the defiles, ice and snow made wellnigh impassable its progress; horses lost their footing and rolled down to vast depths with their riders. After days of marching under such conditions, there were no suitable places for making camp at night, and food was scarce indeed. Hostile tribes from above threw stones down upon the army. No less a genius than Hannibal would have been equal to the task of inspiring soldiers to continue under such dreadful circumstances, but it is worthy of note that at no time were there murmurings on the part of Hannibal's followers; his great personality won men to him and held them by strong bonds. It has been estimated that 20,000 soldiers were lost in the passage of the Alps, by which number alone we may gather some conception of its attendant difficulties.

With 20,000 infantry and 6,000 horses, Hannibal came into the smiling valley of the Po. His army was emaciated by cold and hunger. Fortunately for them, Scipio, who had been evaded by Hannibal, did not approach at once, and opportunity was given for rest. When a battle was fought at Ticinus, the Numidian cavalry proved too much for the Romans, who suffered a defeat. Scipio retreated across the Po, to await Sempronius, who had been summoned from Sicily. By an ambush Hannibal defeated the consolidated Roman army at Trebia, and the Gauls flocked to his stand-

ards. In the spring the great Phœnician general evaded the two armies that awaited his approach, and crossed the Apennines, far to the west where he was not expected, coming into the valley of the Arno. Hannibal now posed as the liberator of the Italians, making war only on the Romans. He hoped that the Italian confederacy would gradually break up. This year the great battle of Lake Trasimene was fought, wherein the Roman infantry was completely annihilated, while the cavalry to the number of 10,000 fell next day into Hannibal's hands.

Under circumstances so urgent, the Romans made Fabius Maximus dictator. He inaugurated a waiting policy, which won him the name "the delayer." Instead of waging battles, he simply followed Hannibal around, hoping in this way to gradually wear out the Carthaginian army, to cut off supplies, and possibly surprise Hannibal in some disadvantageous spot where he might be worsted. As a matter of fact, instead of saving Rome, this policy allowed all Italy to be plundered by the invading army and failed completely in driving it out.

In 216 B. C. the Romans blundered in electing Varro, the people's choice, for one consul, Paulus for the other. Varro had little to commend him, but the people were tired of war in their very midst and ascribed its continuance to the senate. Varro was known to be opposed to the senate and this alone commended him to the populace. Through his ignorance and misguided zeal, the battle of Cannæ was fought. Hannibal commanded 30,000 troops; the Roman consuls commanded 80,000, nearly three times as many, yet 50,000 Romans were left upon the battlefield and 20,000 were taken prisoners. The Roman army was destroyed; one-fifth of the population had been exterminated in this dreadful war, and now there was mourning in every house. We are told that the wailing of the women outside the senate house was so deafening that the senators could hardly be heard in their deliberations. Surely Hannibal had made Rome pay well for her mistaken greed of earlier years.

"Four times over he had now measured his sword with the future conquerors of the world, and each time he had been victorious in an ever ascending series of successes. At

the Ticinus he first met the Roman cavalry, and it was their hasty retreat from the field of battle which alone saved them from a rout. At the Trebia, however the consul might try to disguise it, it was no retreat at all; it was a total rout. At the Trasimene it was neither retreat nor rout, it was the extermination of an army. At Cannæ it was the extermination, not of one but of two armies, and each of them twice its usual size. This was the pinnacle of Hannibal's success, and a pinnacle indeed it was.'"[2]

Through these dark days for the Romans, the composure of the senate was indeed admirable. When the people were swayed by one motive or another, when everything seemed discouraging and no one could foresee the end, day after day the Roman fathers conferred in the senate for the common good. They remained calm when all else was in turmoil; they held fast to their belief in the ultimate triumph of Rome when others weakened. Nor should we lose sight of the fact that the Italian confederacy did not, as Hannibal had hoped, fall apart in consequence of these astonishing victories. The Gauls, to be sure, joined with Hannibal, but they had never been entirely subdued. Certain of the Greek cities which had been oppressed by Roman rule went over to the Phœnicians, but the great mass of communities and peoples remained true to Rome, which fact speaks well for that city's government.

After the battle of Cannæ a change came over the war. The Romans never fought better than when in extremity, and their four successive defeats merely spurred them on to greater efforts. It was determined to risk no more battles with a general who could win with such odds against him. Certain events still portended well for Hannibal. Capua voluntarily came into his hands, and he took Magna Græcia. All this time, it must be remembered, no aid had come to him from Carthage. The aristocracy of that city said the war had been made by Hannibal, who must now fight it out. The empire in Spain could send no aid, for a Roman army guarded any communication thence, and Philip V of Macedon, from whom Hannibal had expected to get help, was himself involved in a war with the Greek states. Without recruits other than those who in Italy had volun-

tarily joined him, without aid of any sort from Carthage, this greatest general of antiquity had maintained his army in the land of the enemy for three years, and had been successful in every engagement.

In 212 B. C. Marcellus continued the war in Sicily, and two years later, Syracuse was taken and entirely destroyed. In Italy, Fabius took Capua during a temporary absence of Hannibal, and meted out dire punishment to those who had deserted the cause of Rome. Gradually Hannibal was losing ground, and in 209 B. C. he retired into southern Italy to await reinforcements which he felt must reach him from Carthage or from his brother Hasdrubal in Spain.

Late in 211 B. C. Publius Cornelius Scipio was elected to take command of the army which guarded Spain. He was a brilliant young man, of commanding presence and wide influence. In 209 B. C. he captured New Carthage, the capital of the Spanish empire, thus falling heir to the Carthaginian stores. Hasdrubal evaded him and moved toward Italy, only to be met and defeated by Gaius Claudius Nero, one of the consuls for the year. With characteristic Roman brutality, Nero sent the severed head of Hasdrubal to Hannibal's camp, and the great general, hitherto ignorant of his brother's movements, realized that help would not be forthcoming and that his cause had failed.

Yet Rome was not through with her terror. After the siege of Capua Hannibal had moved into Latium—the only portion of Italy yet unvisited by him, and blazing villages at night announced his arrival in the very neighborhood of the capital. His camp for some days was but three miles from the city walls.

"Unmolested by the Romans and almost within their view, he ravaged the whole country round, destroying the gardens and the villages, and carrying off into his camp with stern delight the crops and cattle, and the booty of every kind on which he could lay his hand. Then with a body of two thousand horsemen he rode right up to the Colline gate, and passed leisurely along the walls to the temple of Hercules, gazing wistfully at the cruel stones which alone saved the inhabitants, Roman though they were,

from his avenging sword. The fates were against him, but he must have felt that he had nobly kept his vow."

The strain through these years had been fearful upon Rome and her allies. In 209 B. C. several of the old Latin colonies gave notice to the Roman senate that they need not ask further assistance of them, since they had no more men or money to contribute. This announcement brought consternation to Rome, for if the example were followed by others, after all that had been endured, failure might yet overtake Rome.

Successful in Spain, Cornelius Scipio returned to Rome in 206 B. C. and was made consul. Two years later he invaded Africa and Hannibal was recalled home. "Hannibal hath been conquered," that general is said to have exclaimed, "not by the Roman people, who have been so often slain and routed, but by the Carthaginian Senate, through envy and distraction." He had been worsted and in the battle of Zama the Carthaginian army was destroyed. Scipio offered terms of peace and Hannibal urged his people to accept them, heavy though they were. Carthage was to cede Spain to Rome; all ships with the exception of twenty were to be given up; for fifty years an annual tribute of $240,000 was to be paid. Carthage was not to wage war with anyone without permission of Rome. It was greatly to Scipio's credit that he made no insulting requirements of the defeated country. Rome, not less than Carthage, needed peace, for she had lost 300,000 of her vigorous men, all her money, her agriculture had sunk into decay, and the terrors of war had brutalized her people. Surely the refining influences of peace were sorely needed in the Italian peninsula.

As for the Carthaginians, they suffered no pain keener than that of witnessing their fleet, their particular pride, towed out of the harbor and burned before their very eyes.

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[1] Mommsen, p. 144.
[2] *Rome and Carthage:* Smith, p. 167.

MORE WARS OF CONQUEST

DURING the Second Punic War, Philip V of Macedon had shown a disposition to aid Hannibal. To prevent him from so doing, Rome sent a small force into Greece and stirred up troubles nearer home for the ambitious king. These hostilities are known as the First Macedonian War, but their only object and result was the prevention of Greek support being rendered to Carthage.

Rome was not likely to forget such demonstrations on the part of the Macedonian king, and the close of the Second Punic War gave opportunity for Roman interference in the East.

Upon the death of Alexander the Great, his vast empire fell into three large kingdoms—Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; and into several smaller kingdoms—Rhodes and Pontus among them. Two Greek leagues survived—the Ætolian and the Achæan. Egypt had become an ally of Rome, and desired a peace policy. Syria and Macedon were ruled by ambitious kings who wished most of all to extend their territories. In 200 B. C. hostilities broke out between Rome and Macedon, because Philip had made an alliance with Antiochus to divide Egyptian possessions between them. Egypt being an ally of Rome, especially valued since she supplied large quantities of grain to the Italian peninsula, found protection in the Romans, who made war on Philip. In 197 B. C. the Roman legions defeated the Greek phalanx for the second time in history. This is known as the Second Macedonian War.

Because the populace at home was not disposed to carry on extensive wars in the East at this time, Rome desired only to cripple Philip V. and did not now appropriate territory in Greece. Rather, on the occasion of the national games, the victorious Roman general proclaimed Greece free, to the tumultuous joy of the people. Nevertheless the protectorate soon established by the Romans showed that

in this matter they had not been actuated wholly by generous motives.

The Ætolian League was not satisfied with Roman interference in Greece, however, and appealed to Antiochus III of Syria to drive the Romans out of the peninsula. With 10,000 troops, Antiochus landed in Greece, only to be defeated. Not content, the Roman army pursued him in his flight to Asia, and in 190 B. C. fought a decisive battle at Magnesia. The misguided king was killed by his own people.

The Third Macedonian War broke out in 171 B. C., lasting until 168 B. C. It came about in this way: Upon the death of Philip V of Macedon, his son, Perseus, succeeded to the throne, and regarded the time as favorable for throwing off Roman protection. He was defeated after some lesser victories, and Macedonia was divided into four districts, each to be self-governing, but separated from the rest.

In the Peloponnesus, Corinth, as head of the Achæan League, tried to extend her sway over the various Peloponnesian states. In spite of their long centuries of strife, the Greeks had not learned that in union alone they could maintain themselves against outside powers. Immediately Sparta, jealous of the commercial city, asked the Roman senate to prevent such aggressions on the part of Corinth. The Romans themselves were establishing a commerce and looked with envy upon the extensive trade which centered in this Greek port. However, ambassadors were sent from Rome to investigate the situation and report to Rome, but Corinth was rash enough to insult them when they arrived before the convened delegates of the league. Rome had won too many victories during the last fifty years to brook such treatment in patience. It was determined thereupon to break up the league and to destroy Corinth. We cannot read today of the wanton destruction of this ancient city without deep feeling of regret that so much Hellenic beauty was thus heedlessly ruined. Being a wealthy port, the seat of a wide commerce, Corinth had accumulated rare works of art; her own artists had produced more, and her buildings were many of them splendid. Passing over the blind

fury which impelled men to blot out of existence ancient cities, thereby killing or selling into slavery thousands of helpless people, we realize the tremendous loss of Greek remains attendant upon the destruction of Corinth in 146 B. C.

Nor was Corinth the only ancient seat of civilization to be wiped out in this memorable year. From Europe and Asia the scene reverted to Africa and Carthage. After the peace of 201 B. C., Hannibal showed himself to be skillful in peace as well as war. He compelled the Carthaginians to revise their constitution, to remove the Hundred Judges, or Senators, whose selfish, self-centered, commercial spirit had led to the disaster of the war. In their places, public-spirited men were chosen. No longer was the public treasury subject to the dishonesty of the aristocrats, and we may infer how great a benefit this proved when Carthage was able to wipe out the complete war indemnity in thirteen years.

There were Romans, however, who looked with suspicion upon the stricken city which was so valiantly coming again into a more prosperous condition. Especially strong was the influence of Cato, a conservative and short-sighted senator, who concluded every speech in the senate by the ominous sentence: "Carthage must be destroyed." This attitude was so persistently held by a certain element of the Roman population that gradually it became more general. Various steps were taken which led up to the crowning disaster. In the first place, Rome demanded the surrender of Hannibal, who alike in peace and war had proven himself the great defender of his country. To spare his countrymen the humiliation of replying, Hannibal went into voluntary exile. He took refuge for a time at the court of Antiochus, offering to command the Syrian forces against Rome in the conflict already mentioned. It is quite certain that, had this offer been accepted, the war would have assumed an altogether different aspect, but Antiochus was too jealous of the great Carthaginian to allow him to win laurels in this way. Later, Hannibal became a wanderer, and ended his life by taking poison when he was about to fall into Roman hands.

When the great leader was out of the way, Rome still

found means of harassing Carthage. She had helped to establish the king of Numidia upon his throne, and now, when his people continually encroached upon Carthaginian territory, Rome secretly gave him assurance that such a course was not objectionable to her, while to the Carthaginian ambassadors who repeatedly came to seek redress, empty promises were given. At length the citizens of Carthage lost all patience. They would no longer sit by and see their fields plundered by the Numidians and make no effort to protect them. Among the conditions stipulated by Rome in the peace treaty of 201 B. C. was one which prevented Carthage from making war with any people without first asking Roman permission. It was useless to ask it in this case, so on their own responsibility hostilities broke out between the people of Carthage and Numidia. This gave Rome a pretext which she had long wanted. At once she sought redress. The Carthaginians realized how useless was any attempt at force, and yielded to her in her demands. Three hundred children were demanded as hostages; these the people reluctantly voted to give, and at last they were torn from their agonized mothers. Next Rome demanded that the city walls be leveled. This was conceded. Soon she bethought her of another requirement; that the arms of the Carthaginian citizens be collected and yielded up. This was complied with. Finally, heaping insult upon insult, she commanded the Carthaginians to tear down their city and build another where they liked, providing it be ten miles from the sea! This proved the last straw. Asking a month for consideration, Rome haughtily gave it in scorn. Driven to extremities, the people made their last heroic effort; they constructed new walls and made new weapons. Every man, woman and child helped to prepare for the last struggle. So well did they succeed that when the Romans appeared to hear their decision they were amazed by the defense of the city. An army was sent to destroy the town, but it was unable to make an entrance. After several efforts, the assailing force was greatly increased. Finally, in 146 B. C., the fortifications gave way. Nor was the struggle over yet. The Roman soldiers were compelled to fight their way in every house, and to take the town step

by step. We are told that at the beginning of the siege the population numbered 700,000. At the close, 50,000 were sold into slavery. The remainder had fallen in defense of their city. At last the Roman army was satisfied with blood and plunder, but the Roman senate was inexorable in its demand that every stone be razed and the land whereon the city had stood be ploughed.

Thus ended the last Phœnician city, so long the seat of Asiatic civilization. Yet Hannibal was right; it fell because of its own inherent weaknesses rather than Roman greed. While we sympathize with the mighty Hannibal and follow his defeats with regret, we must recognize how greatly he surpassed his fellow townsmen, generally speaking, and must understand that if the ancient world had to bow at the feet of either Rome or Carthage, the latter would have been by far the greater evil of the two.

RESULTS OF CONQUEST

IT was inevitable that two hundred years of conquest would bring great changes to the Roman Republic. Particularly the fifty years that preceded the fall of Carthage, bringing the Italians into immediate contact with eastern culture, wrought many changes in social as well as political life. The ideas and ideals of the people underwent transformation; modifications and growth of the political system followed the acquisition of wide territory; and the civilization of Italy was greatly affected by the influx of foreign influences attendant upon the eastern wars.

The early Romans had been austere and pious, loyal to the state above all things, and unselfish in its service. By 146 B. C. the Roman of this type was fast disappearing. In his place the ambitious, power-loving, self-seeking citizen was to be found. Inestimable plunder resulted from the wars in the east, and consequently war was found to be a short road to wealth. The fair-dealing of earlier times disappeared and avarice took its place. Moreover, the simplicity of living gave way before riches and luxury. Indeed, it may be said that many of the ideals of the people were no longer Roman so far as social life was concerned. Greek thought and culture permeated the peninsula, and, unfortunately for Rome, Greek civilization had sunk now to its lowest ebb.

These disadvantages were offset by certain striking advantages. The Greeks possessed a broader view of life than their Roman neighbors, and it was unquestionably this breadth of vision that enabled the Romans to blend the Mediterranean countries into one great empire. With all its faults, Roman government was the best the world had seen. Peace came at last to many little states hitherto exposed to frequent invasions and unrest. The laws of Rome were vastly superior to those they displaced. Before taking up provincial administration, let us turn to conditions within the city of Rome itself.

During the period of conquest, the old distinctions between patrician and plebeian had disappeared. A new nobility had arisen which included the wealthiest and most influential of both classes. While it is frequently said that this nobility was based upon office holding, it would be truer to say that it was based upon wealth and influence, for these two qualifications were essential to an aspirant for magistracy. The higher offices in Rome were known as the *curule* offices, because those holding them were entitled to sit in curule chairs. In monarchical days, the king sat upon an ivory chair—a curule chair—when administering affairs of state. Those who later assumed kingly duties—the consuls, prætors, censors, dictators, appointed in times of imminent danger, and the higher ædiles—were entitled to curule chairs. Any one whose ancestors had held such office belonged to the noble or senatorial class. The visible sign of nobility was the ancestorial image set up in the home. Constitutionally, any full Roman citizen was eligible to the curule offices but as a matter of fact only the wealthy could command them. In addition to these, there were inferior magistrates, inferior ædiles, eight quæstors, with care of the treasury, and ten tribunes.

The great political body of Rome was the senate, whose members were chosen by the censors from those who had held curule offices—ex-consuls, ex-praetors, etc. Others might from time to time be appointed, but if so, they had but the right to vote, and were not called upon to speak, as were the rest who had earlier been curule magistrates. Constitutionally, this body had but advisory powers, and existed to confer with the consuls. Nevertheless, the senate became largely the governing body of the early republic. Its members, once elected, served for life, and the three hundred senators thus chosen formed the conservative element of the Roman state.

Polybius, a Greek taken captive in the war between Rome and Macedon, spent his later years in compiling a history of the Romans. In this is to be found a treatise upon the constitution. Regarding the duties of the senate, consuls and people, he wrote:

"The senate has first of all the control of the treasury,

and regulates the receipts and disbursements alike. For the quæstors cannot issue any public money for the various departments of the state without a decree of the senate, except for the service of the consuls. The senate controls also what is by far the largest and most important expenditure, that, namely, which is made by the censors every lustrum for the repair or construction of public buildings; this money cannot be obtained by the censors except by the grant of the senate. Similarly all crimes committed in Italy requiring a public investigation, such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning, or wilful murder, are in the hands of the senate. Besides, if any individual or state among the Italian allies requires a controversy to be settled, a penalty to be assessed, help or protection to be afforded,—all this is the province of the senate. Or again, outside of Italy, if it is necessary to send an embassy to reconcile warring communities, or to remind them of their duty, or sometimes to impose requisition upon them,—this, too, is the business of the senate."[1]

Constitutionally, the management of finances, control of public works, the direction of the foreign policy, and the administration of the provinces, belonged to the senate; yet, as a matter of fact, its duties were greater. It largely determined the nature of the legislation, and was, in reality, the real governing factor of the Roman state.

As the senate's power increased, the importance of the assemblies declined. Nor was the expansion of senatorial power the only reason for diminishment of democratic authority. Citizenship had been conferred upon many who did not live in Rome, but who, dwelling elsewhere, might at any time come to the city and take part in the legislation of the people. The assemblies became such large bodies that discussion was impossible; measures to be brought before them were usually referred from the senate and a negative or affirmative vote was given. Opportunity offered for demagogues to gain the upper hand in molding the public mind, and this they were quick to appreciate.

"After this one would naturally be inclined to ask what part is left for the people in the constitution, when the senate had these various functions, especially the control of

the receipts and expenditures of the exchequer; and when the consuls again have absolute power over the details of military preparation, and an absolute authority in the field?' There is, however, a part left the people, and it is a most important one. For the people is the sole fountain of honor and of punishment; and it is by these two things, and these alone, that dynasties and constitutions, and, in a word, human society, are held together. . . . The people then are the only courts to decide matters of life and death; and even in cases where the penalty is money, if the sum to be assessed is sufficiently serious, and especially when the accused have held the high magistracies. . . .

"Again, it is the people who bestow offices on the deserving, which are the most honorable rewards of virtue. It has also the absolute power of passing and repealing laws; and most important of all, it is the people who deliberate on the question of peace or war. And when provisional terms are made for alliance, suspension of hostilities, or treaties, it is the people who ratify them or the reverse."[2]

A tribune presided over the assembly of the people; a consul over the senate. Here it is also convenient to consider the function of the consuls:

"The consuls, before leading out the legions, remain in Rome and are supreme masters of the administration. All other magistrates, except the tribunes, are under them and take their orders. They introduce foreign ambassadors to the senate; bring matters requiring deliberation before it; and see to the execution of its decree. If, again, there are any matters of state which require the authorization of the people, it is their business to see to them, to summon the popular meetings, to bring proposals before them and to carry out the decrees of the majority. In the preparations for war also, and, in a word, in the entire administration of a campaign, they have all but absolute power. . . . They have authority to expend as much of the public money as they choose. . . .

"As for the people, the consuls are pre-eminently obliged to court their favor, however distant from home may be the field of their operations; for it is the people, as

I have said before, that ratifies, or refuses to ratify, terms of peace and treaties; but most of all because when laying down their office they have to give an account of their administration before it."

The point to be especially noted is that, as a result of the foreign conquests, the power of the senate increased and the power of the people decreased. Had Rome confined her interests to the peninsula, the same result would have been brought about as the population increased. The ancients knew nothing of our modern system of representation, and it is evident that a great, unwieldy mass of people could not administer affairs of state nor deliberate upon questions of general concern in any adequate degree.

With wide acquisitions of territory, provincial administration had to be provided by Rome. By 146 B. C. Rome possessed eight provinces: Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Hither Spain, Further Spain, Illyricum, Macedonia, Africa, and Pergamum—a kingdom of Asia bequeathed to Rome by its dying king. This last was known as *Asia*. As she had isolated the Italian cities, so now Rome sought to destroy any relations between her provinces. If they were allowed to maintain inter-provincial relationships they might combine in some effort to free themselves from their dependency upon Rome, and such opportunity was not to be given. While the Italian cities had been merely required to contribute soldiers and military supplies in time of war, the provinces were required to pay tribute—money and grain, and in addition, to pay a land tax.

Over each province a governor was placed. He had no salary, and only a slight allowance was made for his expenses. This in the very outset gave leeway for provincial oppression. The governor was in the beginning a prætor, elected by the people; later it became customary to send an ex-consul, or an ex-prætor (pro-consul; pro-prætor) to the provinces. These men had to acquire incomes and support families, and if they had political aspirations, they must amass money to win over the Roman populace, so it was evident from the beginning that corruption was bound to arise.

During the governor's term of office, which lasted one

year, he was the chief military and civil magistrate of the province. He commanded the provincial army, maintained peace and repelled any invader; at first he controlled the collection of taxes, being aided by the financial agent—a quæstor. Later these were collected by stock companies. The governor had judicial power, and upon his return to Rome was responsible alone to the senate, composed of men of his own social standing. These were disposed to look with indulgence upon his misdeeds and to sanction his accumulation of riches at the expense of his subjects. In their turn, others expected to have an opportunity to do likewise.

In local matters, citizens retained their own magistrates, so far as was practicable while holding the province under the rule of Rome. In judicial matters, the local judges decided disputes between townsmen, but when disputes arose between citizens of different towns, the governor heard and decided them. When entering upon his term of office, the governor issued an edict, setting forth the basis for the adjustment of such matters. The succeeding governor usually re-issued the same, adding any changes he expected to make. In time, these edicts constituted the code of law for the province.

Provincial cities were not treated alike. Some were taken as ally towns; others were free from tribute. The great majority were, however, tributary.

There were certain advantages for the dependencies: peace was now maintained and invaders were quickly repulsed; local government usually prevailed, and those provinces which had previously been dependencies of other countries, such as the earlier provinces of Carthage, paid no more tribute—often less—than they had previously done. The law now administered was ordinarily better than that earlier in force. The disadvantages were nevertheless strongly marked: the officers sent to represent Rome were not given a fixed salary, but were allowed to make whatever they could during their administrations, and even worse, taxes were farmed out. Rome required a given amount yearly from each dependency. Contractors would pay this amount to the state and then would collect as much

in excess as they were able. Naturally the provincials suffered greatly by this injustice, and had little or no redress. As a result, industries declined and the people sank into hopeless poverty in wide districts. Commerce between cities was discouraged, and prosperity often disappeared.

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[1] Polybius' *Hist. Rome.*
[2] Ibid.

POLITICAL LEADERS

IN order to understand the beginning of that civil strife which tore Rome asunder and ended only upon the establishment of the principate, it is necessary to note the conditions, social, political, and economic, in the year 133 B. C.

There were four classes of society: the aristocratic, composed of senators and equestrians or knights; the poor citizens, made up of the city rabble and the country farmers; the non-citizens—Latins, Italians, and provincials; and fourth, the slaves. The senators were in power and were concerned only for themselves. The knights or equestrians had been originally Roman cavalrymen, but in later years the horde of allies had taken their places. This allowed the equestrians to become the great merchants, money changers and financiers of Rome. They were not included in the senate and had no particular place in the political system. The poor citizens had not prospered with the influx of wealth during the last fifty years of conquests. Leaving their small farms for the ranks, they returned to find them greatly reduced and often sold them for small sums to some great landed proprietor, who converted the holdings into sheep and cattle pastures. Having naught else to turn to, the farmer would take his family into Rome, hoping there to find work, and to share in the free distribution of grain which followed a triumph or was bestowed by men seeking popular favor. Some of these small farmers still remained on Roman public land, scattered over the peninsula. These men were uniformly discontented because the economic conditions were such that agriculture was fast declining in Italy.

The non-citizen class comprised all grades of men, ranging from the Latins, who possessed the private and commercial rights of citizenship to the provincials, who, as a rule, had no privileges of citizenship whatever.

The slaves deserve greater explanation. In early times there were no slaves in Italy; with early conquests, captives taken in war were reduced to slavery, yet for many years there was abundant demand for free labor. However, with the conquests of two hundred years, slaves had become very numerous. Vast numbers of them were thrown upon the market after every victory: 150,000 captives were sold after the Macedonian wars; 50,000 captives were offered for sale upon the destruction of Carthage; Sicily and Sardinia supplied unceasing quantities of them. Nor was war the only means of acquiring slaves. Some of the Roman dependencies paid tribute in these human chattels; others were procured by pirates who made slave-hunting their business. No chapter in negro slavery offers such disheartening reports as those which have survived in references of Roman writers to the condition of these slaves. In the cities, slaves were wholly at the mercy of fickle owners, but they usually led a tolerable existence; in the country, where large companies of these unfortunates were employed in tilling the soil and performing various labors, they were worked in chains, under cruel drivers, and herded in dreadful dungeons at night. So wretched did their condition become in Sicily that Eunus, one of their number, collected a force and overcame the officers. Large numbers of slaves escaped and rallied to his standard, for three years defying the Romans and defeating four armies sent against them. This slave revolt was finally put down in 132 B. C. with terrible severity, but it had shown plainly that danger to Rome lurked in this outraged class, so numerous throughout Italy.

It is evident that throwing the many small farms of earlier Italy into wide estates of landed proprietors, together with the employment almost exclusively of slave labor, forced free men out of work. A great unemployed class gathered in the city of Rome and supplied the rabble —the mob—of the later republic. This was the condition that Tiberius Gracchus found when in 133 B. C. he was elected tribune.

Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus belonged to a well known family in Rome. Their father, Tiberius Gracchus, had

wedded Cornelia, daughter of Scipio. The Gracchus family had always sympathized with the common people and to the promising young tribune the democracy looked for succor against the greed of the aristocracy. It appeared to Tiberius Gracchus that the remedy for the poor, the salvation of the unemployed of Rome, lay in a new distribution of the public lands. The old Licinian laws—providing that not more than 300 acres of the public domain should be left in the possession of one man—had fallen into disuse. For generations large land proprietors had leased great tracts of this land, using them for pasturage. When now Tiberius brought forward the plan of reclaiming this territory for the poor and distributing it among them in small portions for nominal rents, consternation was felt by the wealthy who held possession of it. Immediately Tiberius found himself confronted by angry men who exclaimed that he was working their ruin. Proprietors from all parts of Italy hurried to Rome to work against the *agrarian* or *land law*. To appease them, Tiberius conceded that sons of a family might be allowed to retain certain amounts of the estates in the possession of the family, allowing not more than 1,000 acres to be held in any one family; also he planned to compensate the present proprietors for whatever improvements they had made. The agrarian law called forth bitter opposition, however, and when it was read before the people, Octavius, the other tribune, vetoed it in the interest of the wealthy. In vain did Tiberius plead with him excitedly to aid the people; at last, when two or three attempts to pass the law had been frustrated, Tiberius proposed to the people that they depose Octavius from his position as tribune, since he was not proving their friend. This suggestion was promptly taken and Octavius was dragged down from the rostrum. The law passed quickly when no opposition remained.

This was a new way of enacting legislation in Rome. It was unconstitutional and brought on no end of trouble later. Having found that violence could be substituted for legal procedure, both sides continued to resort to it. Many felt that this was a reprehensible measure, and Tiberius knew that when his term ended he would be called upon to

account for his illegal conduct. To protect himself, he determined to become a candidate for immediate re-election. This was again illegal, for the Roman constitution required a succession of tribunes, and none had been allowed to succeed themselves. On the day of the election, while the supporters of Tiberius surged around their leader, a riot took place in the forum and Tiberius, with some of his followers, was killed by the senatorial faction.

For ten years no leader appeared for the common people. The re-division of land had gone into effect after the passage of the agrarian law, and many farms had been apportioned among the people. However, farming was no longer a paying business in Italy, and discontent prevailed among these newly created farmers.

In 123 B. C. Gaius Gracchus espoused the cause of the popular party. His first measure was ill-advised although he probably regarded it as temporary. It was to the effect that the poor of Rome be allowed to procure grain from the state storehouses for about one-half its normal selling price. This was hailed with joy by the idle of the city. It meant that henceforth, if they so chose to do, they might live and support their families at the cost of the state, paying but one-half the prevailing price for bread. Not only did it make confirmed paupers of them, but it dealt the death blow to the farmers who still cultivated their fields. There was little hope of market for their grain if the state itself was supplying grain at one-half its value. Worse still, a time was coming when this would not suffice; *free bread* would be the cry ere long.

Best of Gaius' reforms was his plan of colonization, settling the poor of Rome and Italy in new towns which he planted on the sea coast. One such settlement was organized upon the site of Carthage; one at Capua, and another at Tarentum. These prospered at first, but no particular interest was manifested in them by the Romans.

In addition to these measures, Gaius Gracchus revived the agrarian law of his brother, and allowed knights to serve upon juries. Hitherto this had been the function of the senators, whose training in a large measure fitted them for this office. They had become corrupt, and this was the

reason offered by the reformer for putting the equestrians in their places. Some one has suggested that the result was similar to that which might be expected to come about if only the members of the Stock Exchange should today be allowed to serve in this capacity. It was not long before the corruption of the knights so far surpassed anything previously known that people looked back with regret to the period when senators alone had acted as jurymen.

Gaius' final measure, to give the citizenship to the Italians generally, was defeated. It brought a storm of outcry from all citizens, who objected to their privileges being shared with others. Gracchus' followers deserted him and he, too, was killed.

Having seen Rome depart from the safe path of legal procedure, we now find another innovation, in that Marius, a new leader of the popular party, and himself a general, enrolled the idle of Rome into his army, and used the army as means of procuring his political ends. He was a gruff, untutored man of the common people, successful in the war against Jugurtha,—a usurper of the Numidian kingship. His service to Rome was even greater in his defeat of the Cimbri and Teutons who invaded Gaul from the north in 113 B. C. The first generals sent against these dreaded invaders proved sadly incompetent, and allowed the war to drag along. Under their mismanagement 60,000 soldiers were destroyed. Thereupon the people cried that the failure of the army was due to the ineffectual government of the aristocrats, and elected Marius consul. He conducted the war against the Germans and defeated them in 101 B. C. On his return to Rome he was given a great triumph, which was well deserved, for without vigorous attack, other invaders would soon have followed the tribes which entered Italy in 113 B. C.

Marius was hailed as the saviour of the people, and thus far all was well. Moreover, he shortly became associated with Saturninus, who brought forward measures which enraged the aristocratic party; he proposed to reduce the price of corn still further, to open Gaul to the poor Italians, and to give territory in the provinces to Marius' veterans. In the face of strong opposition these laws were passed, but

when Saturninus tried to secure his own re-election to the tribuneship, riots followed and the senate asked Marius, as consul, to put them down. He did so, and then, feeling that he had misused his opportunity for power in Rome, retired. This incident is important, for it was the first time the army was used in Rome for the purpose of attaining political results. Unfortunately, it was not to be the last.

Troubles within the city of Rome were thrown in the background in 90 B. C. by the breaking out of the so-called Social War. This was the struggle of the Italians to secure Roman citizenship. Those Italians who lived in remote parts of Italy had little desire to take part in the legislation of Rome, but there were certain advantages which citizenship would bring which they did want badly. In time of war, if a consul drafted soldiers in the army, the tribune could protect such of the people as were unfitted for service. He also protected them against needlessly harsh treatment while in service. Whenever a Roman citizen felt himself wronged, he could appeal to the tribune, who existed for the protection of the common people. Such recourse as this the Italians did not have and deeply desired. The question had been agitated some time. Gaius Gracchus had failed to secure its passage, as had others who brought it forward. Now the Italians determined to secure citizenship for themselves by forcing Rome to confer it. If it were not to be obtained they were firm in their intention to found a new state, Italica, which might in time absorb all Italy.

It was not to be thought of that Romans allow their state to be thus divided, and Marius returned to Rome. However, the command of the army was given to Sulla, who had distinguished himself in the war against Jugurtha. After 300,000 men had lost their lives in the so-called Social War, Rome offered citizenship to all who had remained loyal to her and to all who should enroll themselves within two months. Thus the war closed, and Italians and Romans together shared alike the privileges of political equality.

The advent of Sulla into public life is important. He belonged to the aristocratic party, now giving the senators

a military leader to offset Marius. The presence of the Roman army was needed in western Asia, where Mithridates, king of Pontus, was trying to drive out the Romans and establish his own power. To understand the full significance of this war it is necessary to recall the deplorable condition in the Asiatic province, where taxes were farmed out and the people were so oppressed that they rapidly sank from prosperity to poverty. Because of their misrule, the Romans were so hated that the moment this Asiatic king sought to claim this territory, the people flocked to him as to a deliverer, and in a single day put to death the 80,000 Romans who were settled there. It was to check this king that Sulla was dispatched in 88 B. C.

Marius could not look with tolerance upon Sulla's popularity, thus setting him wholly aside. Immediately upon Sulla's departure for the East, he began to win over to himself a band of followers. Full of revenge, Marius gathered his earlier friends about him and these elected Sulpicius tribune. Soon several laws, known as the Sulpician laws, were passed by noisy mobs in the Forum, and most significant among them was one which gave Marius, instead of Sulla, command of the army. Upon the passage of this questionable legislation, messengers were sent to notify Sulla that he must deliver the command to Marius. Sulla had little intention of being thus set aside for a leader of the Roman mobs. He called upon his soldiers to stand by him, and with the fidelity that soldiers feel for the one who has led them to victory, they proclaimed their willingness to do so. Thereupon Sulla marched to Rome. Marius and some of his adherents fled from the city. Sulla convened the senate and asked this body to declare the followers of Marius outlaws. The recent laws were repealed, and the senate was restored to power. This being accomplished, Sulla set out again for the East and in 84 B C. compelled the king of Pontus to sign a treaty of peace.

During Sulla's absence the popular party struggled for power and civil war ruled in Rome. Men fought each other in the streets, and now one side, now the other, wielded authority. It has been estimated that 10,000 citizens fell in these riots. Marius secured a company of Numidian

cavalrymen and charged upon the people in Rome; then he shut up the city gates and for five days satiated himself with slaughter. At last he died, the terror of Rome.

This burst of democratic triumph was to be dearly paid for. In 83 B. C. Sulla returned from his triumph over Mithridates, and once more civil war raged in Rome. He had himself declared dictator, and outlawed all who had taken part against him. Lists of the proscribed were posted and rewards were offered for their heads. The most degraded, brutal aids carried out his orders. Probably 5,000 men were put to death, without trial or hearing. When he considered his enemies removed, Sulla set about reconstructing the constitution, and it must be said to his credit that he evolved a constitution that was at least practical and might have proved sufficient had the senate of the later republic been the stable body that it had once been. An aristocrat himself, Sulla had no tolerance for popular rule, which he regarded the cause of much tumult in Rome. To the senate he restored fullest authority.

To lessen the distinction between senators and equestrians, he appointed many equestrians to the senate. This united the aristocratic and wealthy into one body, with common interests. The people were no longer permitted to pass upon laws which had not previously gained the sanction of the senate. The tribune was deprived of all power save that originally his: to intervene in behalf of the people. Sulla prevented magistrates from re-election, and made the consul merely a civil officer, instead of as before, commander of the army. Senators only were allowed to serve on juries. Such were the important features of his new constitution.

Having organized the government upon the old, aristocratic basis, Sulla returned to private life and died in retirement.

TO THE DEATH OF CÆSAR

FOR many years a political struggle had been waging in Rome, the question being: where was authority to be invested, in the senate or in the people? Both the aristocracy and the populace had ruled alternately, or rather, actual power had been lodged in the senate save when, through the aid of efficient leaders, the popular party gained ascendency, and the government of either element had been unsatisfactory. Indeed, Rome was not destined to enjoy peace until the Republic merged into the Principate.

During the period of Pompey's leadership—78 to 59 B. C.—the strife continued. While the people were still to be propitiated, the tendency was in the direction of the one-man rule, even as it had been in the days of Marius and Sulla. Unrest and reaction followed upon the death of Sulla, and under incompetent leaders, the masses attempted to check the power of the senate. First of these leaders was Lepidus, formerly a supporter of the aristocratic party, which he abandoned because investigation revealed gross irregularities in his provincial administration, and, fearing the disapproval of his own party, he sought the favor of the people.

Lepidus now tried to set aside the constitution which Sulla had forced upon Rome. Many disliked this new legal code, but Rome had suffered so greatly from evil strife that the most discerning ones were opposed to any sudden change which might bring riots and mob-rule in its wake. Failing in his purpose, Lepidus raised an armed force and tried to accomplish his plan by the use of the sword. At this juncture the senate sent Pompey, distinguished as a lieutenant in Sulla's army, to put down the rebellion, and in 77 B. C. Lepidus was overcome.

This bungling effort to increase the power of the people was shortly followed by insurrection on the part of Sertorius, an adherent of the democracy. He went to

Spain and there tried to establish an independent republic. After three Roman armies had been repulsed, Pompey was sent thither and ended the trouble in 72 B. C.

Far more formidable than either of these revolts was a third, led by Spartacus, a gladiator. Turning against those for whose amusement men had fought wild beasts or each other in the arena, a band of gladiators fortified themselves in Italy and were soon joined by slaves and outlaws who flocked to them from all parts of the peninsula. Army after army was sent against them, but proved unable to check their ravages. Few situations show better the depths to which Rome had sunk than this, wherein a comparatively small number of abandoned men held out against four Roman armies sent to subdue them. Crassus, an aristocrat who had served under Sulla, was finally delegated to end the insurrection, and defeated the outlaw band in 71 B. C. Those who survived fled into Spain, where Pompey overtook them and, having destroyed the remnant, took greater credit to himself than he really deserved.

Three attempts to exalt the popular party by armed forces had failed, and the senate took pride in having thus overcome the masses and enhanced its own power. Now the victorious generals, Pompey and Crassus, returned to Rome and desired to be elected consuls. Fearing their strength, the senate refused its support. Failing here, the two men turned to the people, who welcomed any opportunity to strike a blow to aristocratic government. In 70 B. C., accordingly, the generals were elected to the consulship. This office was conferred upon them in accordance with their promise to overthrow the constitution of Sulla, and upon their entrance to consular duties the old government was re-established. Law making reverted to the people, the tribune received again his earlier power; no longer did senators alone serve upon juries; the censors were restored, and the senate was purged of sixty-four members. The rights of the people were thus vindicated, and this, too, with no attendant bloodshed.

Serious conditions in the East required attention. While the Romans had been putting down civil revolts in their very midst, pirates had established themselves to a

degree unknown upon the Mediterranean. Commerce was nowhere safe from their bold robberies. Even the proconsuls, setting forth from their provinces, were not safe from their depredations. With strongholds at Crete, these daring sea robbers preyed upon vessels, little and great, and Roman commerce was at a standstill. Furthermore, Mithridates, king of Pontus, was once more making his power felt in Asia, and if Rome was to hold her provinces she must measure swords with this eastern potentate.

The tribune of the people came forward with a bold plan, which was to the effect that Pompey be given supreme command over the sea for three years, and that his authority be extended around the sea for fifty miles inland. Armies and fleets were to be organized at his direction and piracy upon the Mediterranean ended. In vain the senate protested that delegating such wide authority to any one was unconstitutional. The people declared that senatorial rule had allowed existing conditions to arise, and they would demonstrate the ability of the populace to change them. Accordingly, Pompey was dispatched to the Great Sea, and within three months he had taken or destroyed one thousand pirate ships. Strongholds erected by these sea bandits were leveled, and commerce was once again able to follow its accustomed way.

After this great victory all felt that Pompey was needed in the East to check the progress of Mithridates, and thither the general was sent. His success was quite as remarkable there. Mithridates was defeated; Syria was taken and organized as a Roman province.

"The achievements of Pompey were enough to dazzle even the flagging minds of the all-conquering people. All the nations on this side the Euphrates had submitted absolutely to his dictation. . . . After expending 3,900,000 pounds in gifts upon his officers and men, he was still bringing home to the state treasury more than 2,000,000 pounds. The conqueror of unheard-of nations, the founder of nine and thirty cities, what opposition could be made to any claims he might choose to advance?"

Meanwhile the government of Rome had sunk so low that Catiline, a depraved noble, planned to make himself

ruler of the city. His famous conspiracy was discovered and frustrated by Cicero, and his allies were put to death. Elections were ordinarily accompanied by riots and armed forces paraded the streets and domineered over the helpless people.

In 61 B. C. Pompey returned to Rome. He had expected expressions of appreciation for his splendid victories, but these were not forthcoming. The nobles hated him and the people were afraid of one so powerful. His soldiers, however, remained faithful. The great general made his wishes known to the senate. He wanted to be consul for the coming year, wanted to have his acts in the East confirmed, and lastly, desired that his veterans be given homes. To his amazement, these reasonable demands were unheeded, and once again he was obliged to turn to the people. For mutual advantage, the three strongest men in Rome at this time—Pompey, Crassus and Julius Cæsar—formed a league, known as the First Triumvirate. Pompey brought the support of the army; Crassus was the wealthiest man in Rome, and Julius Cæsar gave promise of a successful career. Rome was now a plaything in the hands of three men who could exercise their political influence for maintaining their positions. According to the agreement at this time Cæsar was to be consul for 59 B. C., and after that was to go as proconsul to Gaul. Pompey's veterans were to be given farms, and his acts in the East were confirmed; Crassus was to be given opportunity to increase his wealth. In 56 B. C. Cæsar, who had already spent two years repulsing the Germans, discerned discontent in his colleagues and summoned them to a meeting. The result of this conference was to extend Cæsar's term in Gaul five years, to give Pompey and Crassus the consulship for 55 B. C., and then give Pompey Spain and Crassus Syria.

Crassus died shortly after his arrival in the East, fighting tribes where the hope of plunder was strong. Julia, daughter of Cæsar and wife of Pompey, died, severing a bond of feeling between the two men. Henceforth they were to be rivals for supreme power in Rome. Pompey stayed in Italy and sent representatives to his province in

Spain, but although a successful general, he was not a good political leader, and allowed several opportunities for gaining strength to slip by. Riots continued in the city, and finally, when he was made sole consul, a formal break came with his earlier colleague.

In 49 B. C. Cæsar had completed his Gallic campaign. The senate feared one who had made his name such a terror in the North, and asked him to disband his soldiers before returning to Rome. Cæsar desired the consulship for the next year, and felt that without his army he would be no better off than any private Roman citizen. However, he agreed to disband his soldiers if Pompey would do likewise. This Pompey refused to do. Thereupon the senate unwisely notified Cæsar that he must dismiss his army by a certain date or be declared a public enemy. Cæsar was now convinced that without his army he would be helpless in Rome, and, marching rapidly, crossed the Rubicon, the stream north of Rome, over which no army had been allowed to come. Upon learning of his approach, Pompey gathered together what forces he could and moved south. Contrary to the fears of the Romans, Cæsar brought order instead of turmoil to the city. No massacres, proscriptions or riots marked his entrance to the capital. Having established himself at home, he moved to meet Pompey, for there was now civil war in Italy and one of the two leaders had to prove himself master of the situation. Cæsar brought a well trained body of soldiers, whereas Pompey had hurriedly gathered his forces together. As might have been foreseen, Pompey was defeated. Fleeing to Egypt, he was treacherously slain. This left Julius Cæsar in control of the Roman world.

Having re-established the Ptolemies upon the throne of the Pharaohs, Cæsar returned to Rome. There he proclaimed a holiday of fifteen days. He celebrated four triumphs; one for Gaul, one for Egypt, one for Pontus, and one for Africa. His rule in Rome was brief. He gathered into his own hands the important offices of the government, and instituted reforms that lived long after his time. First of all, he believed that Rome should be the *capital* of a great empire, not simply the recipient of advantages conferred

by this wide area. Accordingly, the rights of citizenship were extended to the Gauls, Spaniards, and other provincials. Again, districts in the provinces were open to settlers from Italy. Instead of leaving provincial taxes to be farmed out, each town was made responsible for its share.

The senate lost its aristocratic nature when Cæsar increased its membership from 600 to 900 and brought into it men from various parts of Italy and the provinces. Economic conditions were bettered by the employment of free laborers as well as slaves on estates, and many idle men of Rome were engaged on public work now undertaken. Moreover, imprisonment for debt was abolished.

Cæsar made the fatal mistake, however, of setting aside the prejudices of men regarding the *forms* of *government*. There were those who failed to see that the days of the republic were passed, and they resented Cæsar's indifference to republican forms and appearances. These men found in Brutus a worthy although a misguided leader, who vainly hoped to restore the old time republic by removing the great statesman of the age. A conspiracy was formed and in 44 B. C. the mighty Cæsar fell in the senate house, a victim to the mistaken conceptions of eighty senators. Time was to show their attempt a failure, and to demonstrate that the sacrifice of Cæsar could not stem the tide of natural forces.

Many characterizations have been made of Julius Cæsar. Some have seen in him the "entire and perfect man," in the words of a German historian. Others have believed him a tyrant and destroyer of republican government. Democratic Cæsar certainly was not; his ideas were not entirely unlike those of Alexander the Great. He undoubtedly desired to make himself absolute, and yet he would probably have administered a wise government. The age had passed when the Roman populace was capable of taking a loyal, disinterested attitude in the government of the country, and the vast extent of the empire demanded a strong centralized government. One-man rule was bound to come, and Cæsar's death could not restore the wholesome conditions of early Rome.

"Cæsar died the greatest man that Rome ever produced. His life has left an indelible impress upon the world's history in every direction. Equally great as a general, as a statesman, and as a law-giver, he combined in his one person gifts such as but two or three men in the world's history have possessed. Had he lived to perfect his work, the whole history of the Roman empire might have been different; in his death Rome lost a man such as the ancient world was never to see again."

THE END OF THE REPUBLIC

THE conspirators had planned no farther than the death of Cæsar. Having persuaded themselves that the fall of this mighty statesman was essential to the welfare of the Roman world, they lost sight of the fact that the people generally had not been following their line of thought. Instead of being hailed as the liberators of the land, their first announcement of the death of "the tyrant" was received by the crowd gathered in the Forum with a significant silence. Not feeling too confident themselves, they hastened to fortify a stronghold upon Capitoline Hill. On the following day Brutus came down among the people to justify Cæsar's death. He was heard with respect, but the other conspirators were hissed and they hastily returned to the Capitoline.

Cæsar's Master of the Horse had been Lepidus, who commanded a legion just outside the walls of Rome. Antony, Cæsar's fellow-consul, managed to get from Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, the great dictator's will. Moreover, with the aid of his brothers, one a prætor, one a tribune, Antony opened the public treasury and secured enough money to carry out his immediate plans. He made overtures to Lepidus, whose support was coveted, inasmuch as he commanded the troops. Cæsar's veterans had loved him dearly and were ready to serve whoever would avenge his untimely death.

Two days after the death of Cæsar, Antony summoned the senate. The question upon which this body had to rule was whether Cæsar had been a tyrant, and what should be the attitude of the state toward the assassins. Many of the senators had been directly or indirectly implicated in the plot, or were at least in close relations with the conspirators, and the majority were at first in favor of declaring Cæsar a tyrant, thus justifying his death. Antony reminded them, however, that this would mean the

annulment of all Cæsar's acts and all his appointments, some of which had but recently been made known. Upon consideration of this, the senate declared an amnesty; Cæsar's acts and plans were confirmed, and it was left for the future to pass judgment upon the conspirators.

Since Cæsar was not condemned as a tyrant, it rested with the state to give him the usual funeral ceremonies. This was a measure that many of the conspirators could not have objected to, even had they felt strong enough to offer resistance. However, this public funeral gave opportunity for the resentment of the people to manifest itself. Antony, with shrewd foresight, read the will of Cæsar. When it was disclosed that he had left his gardens to the Romans and had remembered each citizen of Rome with 300 sesterces, the people were infuriated and sought out the conspirators to kill them. Not trusting to their mercies, these had fled. Instead of feeling themselves delivered from a tyrant, the people felt that they had been robbed of a friend, one who had wished them well and who had governed wisely. When this truth came home to the hearts of the Romans, the death-knell for the conspirators' triumph was rung.

Antony alone remained clear-sighted. With the senate's sanction, he raised a force of 6,000 men and put down the tumults that arose in the city. Disarming any suspicions others might entertain of him, he brought forward a measure abolishing for all time the office of dictator. Having made the senate favorable to the execution of Cæsar's plans, Antony made it possible for his own designs to be carried out, since he attributed to Cæsar plans he subsequently devised.

Cæsar's will had stated that he had adopted his great-nephew, Octavius, as his son and heir. Octavius was but nineteen years of age, but letters sent him by his mother roused his ambitions. He appeared before a legion of Cæsar's veterans as Cæsar's son and was warmly greeted; moreover, the youth claimed his inheritance from Antony, who put him off with one excuse or another. Using his own money and borrowing from his friends, Octavius paid off the legacies willed to others by his uncle. While

the conspirators were disagreeing among themselves, Octavius was winning over their armies with money and promises. Because of his youth and inexperience, as well as his prudence in not pushing himself forward too rapidly, others failed to see any danger in Octavius' growing power.

Antony, meantime, was using every opportunity to establish himself as Cæsar's successor. In vain Cicero hurled his epithets against him in the "Philippics," so-called from a resemblance to the orations of Demosthenes, to whom Cicero likened himself. At length the senate authorized Octavius to make war upon the usurping Antony. Having defeated him, Octavius asked for the consulship. When the senate, suddenly fearing his power, refused it to him, he brought his soldiers to the very gates of Rome and demanded the consulship at the point of the sword. Since the senate had refused him support, Octavius now made overtures to his recent enemy, Antony, and in 43 B. C. the Second Triumvirate was formed, composed of Octavius, Antony and Lepidus. The agreement was that Octavius should resign the consulship, and that the three men should claim consular powers in Rome for five years, having the right to appoint all state officials. Their decrees were to have the force of law. Moreover, Gaul was given to Antony, Spain to Lepidus, Africa, Sicily and Sardinia to Octavius, while Italy was to be held in common by the three. This was nothing short of tyranny, substituting three men for one. To bind the contract, proscriptions were made, and more than 2,000 Romans fell to secure the selfish ends of the triumvirs. To his lasting discredit, Octavius consented to the death of Cicero at this time.

Having beheaded their enemies at home, Octavius and Antony made common cause against the leading assassins of Julius Cæsar. Lepidus was never strong enough to be of particular importance. At the battle of Philippi, 42 B. C., Brutus and Cassius were defeated and killed. A new division of the Roman world was then made, and in spite of it rather than because of it, Antony went to the East, and Octavius returned to Italy. While Octavius was occupied with the general interests of his country, the conduct of

Antony was paving the way for the final break between the two men.

Becoming infatuated with Cleopatra, Antony grew ambitious to become a monarch of the oriental type. He injured the personal feelings of Octavius by divorcing his sister Octavia that he might become more completely the slave of Egypt's queen. Having defeated the petty king of Armenia, in 34 B. C. Antony celebrated a triumph in Alexandria, he being declared king, Cleopatra queen, of Egypt. Throwing off any restraints that had hitherto held him, Antony now masqueraded as Osiris' representative on earth. He deposed the governors of Roman provinces and gave these to his sons by Cleopatra. There was even a rumor afloat that the capital of the world was to be changed —Alexandria to supersede Rome.

Such conduct on the part of Antony naturally incurred the scorn of the Romans. In some way Octavius obtained possession of a will that Antony had left in the keeping of the Vestal Virgins. By this will it was found Antony had left Rome as an inheritance for Cleopatra and her sons, while it was his wish to be buried in Egypt. When this was made public in the city, the Romans were highly indignant and war was declared against Egypt. Highest contempt was felt for the Roman who could betray his country into the hands of a foreign power.

In 31 B. C. the battle of Actium was fought between the forces of Antony and Octavius. In the midst of battle, Cleopatra's galley hoisted a signal for retreat, and Antony followed her, leaving his adherents to their fate. Hearing, upon his arrival at the court of Egypt, that the queen had taken her own life, Antony gave himself a fatal wound. Finding later that the report was false, he was carried to the faithless queen and expired in her arms.

Cleopatra tried in vain to infatuate Octavius by her charms, which had so often brought powerful men to her feet. Octavius was dominated by his intelligence rather than his emotions, and proved impervious to the wiles of Egypt's queen. When she was satisfied that she was doomed to grace Octavius' triumph in Rome, Cleopatra took her life by the tomb of Antony. The reign of the

Ptolemies was at an end, and Egypt became a Roman province.

Octavius stood forth before the world in 31 B. C. without a rival. The great-nephew of Cæsar now held in his hands the power that had earlier belonged to Cæsar. It remained to be seen how he would use it. Whether we consider the government which he instituted as a new kind of republic, or, with the majority of historians classify it as an empire, all must admit that the old republic was gone.

"For full three-quarters of a century the republic had been slowly dying; many times it had seemed that life was extinct; each time it had revived; but at last the great and powerful oligarchy was overthrown. With all its shortcomings it had accomplished a splendid task; it had added vast territories to the Roman domain; it had furnished a long line of statesmen and generals; it had prepared the way for the wonderful imperial organization which followed. If the history of the decay of the republic is a melancholy story, the history of its conquests is not less a stirring romance."

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[x] Demosthenes' *Orations Against Philip of Macedon.*

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE LATE REPUBLIC

A RECENT writer has called the last century of the Roman Republic "the most terrible in the history of the world."[x] It requires fine discrimination to determine with exactitude which has been the worst hundred years of human struggle. Certainly the century intervening between the attempted reforms of the Gracchi and the centralizing of authority in the person of Julius Cæsar was characterized by confusion, bloodshed and corruption. The republic survived much of the time in name only.

The first half of the second century before Christ is often designated as the Age of Cato, he being one of the last of the Romans of the old school who strove to resist the tide of social revolution which accompanied the spread of empire and fast accumulation of wealth. No understanding of the complex social conditions is possible without emphasizing again and again the brief time in which Rome expanded from a peasant state to a world empire. Cato the Elder was born on his father's little farm and remembered how in his boyhood men dropped their plows when danger threatened the state to take their places in the Roman legions, returning to the routine of agricultural pursuits after the war was over. Life was simple and austere and luxuries practically unknown. In his lifetime he saw such primitive conditions give way to those of extravagance and ostentation and he fought against these changes as pernicious to the safety of the Republic. So they were, but it was beyond the power of man to restrain them.

Continued war had brought about standing armies made up of soldiers who followed military life for the plunder that awaited the conqueror in foreign lands. In place of small farms, the wealthy obtained by purchase or lease large tracts of land which they operated by slave

labor. The rural population, finding the production of grain no longer profitable when Egypt and other cereal-producing countries were shipping it to Rome in great quantities, flocked to the capital, there to seek work on public construction and to increase the proletariat of the great city. In spite of their public spirit, the Gracchi played havoc with economic conditions; grain that they supplied the people below cost was later provided them free by unscrupulous leaders who vied with one another to win the popular vote. Cæsar found 300,000 people receiving free bread and was himself unable to reduce the number below 150,000.

During the early centuries of the republic every man was ready to die for Rome and Polybius, the Greek historian, was amazed at the honesty of the Romans. He said: "Greek statesmen, if entrusted with a single talent, though protected by ten checking-clerks, as many seals and twice as many witnesses, yet cannot be induced to keep faith: whereas among the Romans, in their magistracies and embassies, men have the handling of a great amount of money, and yet from pure respect to their oath keep their faith intact. And again, in other nations it is a rare thing to find a man who keeps his hands out of the public purse, and is pure in such matters: but among the Romans it is a rare thing to detect a man in the act of committing such a crime."

Uprightness, honesty, and similar sterling qualities, together with refusal to accept defeat had placed Rome first among the nations. Frugal fare, huts of sun-dried brick, and lives of toil had produced a sturdy race, fit to conquer the world. It was when all these conditions were reversed that weaknesses began to manifest. Vast wealth suddenly poured in from tributary countries; slaves, few at first and under the direct influence of the family, were now thrown upon Italy at the rate of ten thousand per day. Whereas Cato when censor had fined senators for wearing jewelry and for having silverware on their tables, he was destined to witness a complete departure from the austerity of his youth. Yet the indulgences of his age would have seemed mild indeed to those of the century that followed.

A new race inhabited Rome and Italy. The civil wars had drained the country of its best blood, thousands having fallen to satisfy the mad fury of military leaders. Their places were filled by foreigners; by descendants of plebeian families; by slaves freed by their masters or by their own thrift and exertions. The principles upon which the Roman state had attained importance meant little to these turbulent elements. The old aristocracy had been replaced by men of wealth, self seeking and unschooled in the old traditions. Numerous villas and hundreds of slaves who anticipated their every wish enabled them to seek merely their own pleasure and to use public position as the means for accumulating still greater fortunes.

Until the age of the Gracchi civil struggles had as a rule been conducted peacefully and without bloodshed. The self-control and patience fostered by the discipline of family and state caused the people to exercise restraint even under strong provocation. Once the experiment of passing laws at the point of the sword and of employing illegal measures had been tried, it was often resorted to.

How the stamina of the Roman character had been undermined by the attraction of wealth was made plain when Jugurtha, a Numidian chieftain, was able to buy off the first military leaders sent against him. Mithridates profited by his example, to the chagrin of the self-respecting element at home. The fact that this king was able to prolong his struggle for twenty-five years was sufficient index of the military situation.

In early times the senate had been composed of city fathers whose first concern was the state. In these latter days it had become a close corporation of moneyed men, each anxiously guarding against the enactment of any new law that might lessen the chance to increase private fortunes. To cite the case of Crassus is no doubt to take a notorious rather than a typical illustration. He was rated the wealthiest man in Rome and had made much of his money in connection with the slave trade. After battles, captives were immediately auctioned off to buyers who followed the army; 150,000 were sold on one occasion. Delos, once sacred to Apollo, became one of the largest slave

emporiums, 10,000 slaves often being sold there daily. Crassus maintained a sort of school where slaves were trained as gladiators, these being rented by their owner for funerals and holiday games. Some were trained to form a fire brigade. The houses of Rome were still built largely of wood or at least were fragile in construction. High tenements had been erected of flimsy materials to house the poor who paid exorbitant rental for wretched accommodations. The poorest had only bare rooms. In case of fire such structures were likely to yield at once in an age where no city fire protection existed. Crassus had agents throughout Rome who immediately on the outbreak of fire would buy the doomed property from the distracted owners—often an entire row of houses would be sold if threatened by a strong wind. Thereupon the slave brigade would appear, extinguish the flames, and the house would quickly be repaired. In this way it is small wonder that Crassus became the largest real estate owner in the capital.

Public enterprises, such as the construction of roads, bridges, aqueducts and public buildings were carried on indirectly by the Roman government, by the means of stock companies. Competitive bids would be submitted and the opportunity for profit was in the margin between the sum paid by the government and the cost for which the work could be done. Similarly, the collection of provincial taxes was usually given to the company bidding highest for the privilege. The profits being whatever was obtained in excess of this sum, paid in advance to the state treasury, it is easy to understand the blighting effect of such a pernicious system on the provinces. When provincials were unable to pay, agents of the company would loan them money at excessive rates—20 per cent was commonly charged—and later, upon the inability of the debtor to liquidate, he and his family would be taken into slavery. The governor of the province was supposed to stand between the publicans and the people, but too often he was himself employing every means known to him for recuperating his own fortunes from the same hapless creatures. From his extortions redress might be sought through courts established in Rome, but the difficulties involved in taking

complaints so far made this provision of little worth. While in most provinces the local courts continued to administer justice in small affairs after conquest by Rome, serious difficulties were heard by the governor's court, where, unfortunately, justice was often sold to the contestant offering heaviest gifts.

With the culture of the East which permeated the Italian peninsula, came the vices of declining civilizations. The purity of the family was no longer stoutly defended. Divorce might be procured on the slightest grounds. To be sure, the middle classes who in all ages form the stable element of society were undoubtedly less affected by these changes than the rest, but little has survived of their doings. Those who attained high position or were conspicuous for their wealth or misconduct were then, as now, more likely to awaken comment on the part of writers. What has been appropriately called the "upper scum" was largely rotten to the core—relics of old aristocratic families and the newly rich; the lower scum was composed of freedmen, slaves in hiding and the dregs of society. In Rome the middle class was less numerous and expediency compelled it either to join forces with the conservatives for protection or, when the control of this class became intolerable, to join with the populace, an ever increasing body grown bold with largesse from corrupt leaders.

Ferrero speaks of the undercurrent of Rome's population in this way: "Concealed in the holes and corners of Rome, in the enormous lodging-houses of the speculative builders of the day, there seethed an innumerable population of freedmen, artisans, pedlars, small shop keepers, adventurers, beggars and malefactors, swept in from all parts of Italy and the empire. These men made a living by any occupation, licit or illicit, which the slaves left open to them. They were employed on the public works; they plied their trades as masons, stone-cutters and waggoners, potters and weavers, cooks, florists and flute-players; they put themselves at the service of cabals and individual politicians as cut-throats or spies or go-betweens; they crept on to the register and sold their votes; they stole, they swindled and they took their part, and more than their part, in the

political banquets. . . . Indolent, thriftless, discontented and incapable, perpetually clamoring for employment, yet perpetually cast adrift, this underground population was still prepared, if it found a leader, to do yeoman service in the cause of anarchy.'"[1]

Slavery was the deadly cancer gnawing at the vitals of society. To be sure, with its rapid expansion the country stood much in need of labor and economists argue that the rural districts could not at this time have been properly cultivated without slaves, since in antiquity men did not normally move from country to country in search of work. However this may be, slaves were precipitated into the peninsula until they glutted the markets. Those of superior attainments often brought large sums; the average price for one suited to ordinary day labor was about fifty dollars, but when tens of thousands were suddenly thrown upon the emporiums after great victories, they were occasionally disposed of for as little as one dollar per head.

"Never before had Italy been so crowded with slaves. The conquests of the two Luculli and of Pompey, the continual warfare and raiding on the frontiers and the familiar traffic in men sold by their creditors or kidnapped by the pirates, had already brought, and were still bringing, to Italy a vast multitude of men and women. They formed a strange and motley assortment. There were architects, engineers, doctors, painters, goldsmiths, weavers and metal-workers from Asia, singers and dancers from Syria, hucksters and fortune tellers from Palestine, sellers of medical and poisonous herbs, shepherds from Gaul, Germany, Scythia and Spain, all equally and indiscriminately dispersed among the houses of the upper and middle classes in Rome and Italy. Every one of these immigrants had been robbed of home and fortune by the stress of the struggle between man and man and had been obliged, whether young or old, to begin his life over again."[2]

The wholesale reduction of war captives to slavery and the continual raids of slave traders on every foreign coast for unfortunates who were immediately cast into fetters and sold at the nearest port, awakens our pity. Pirates went so far as to accept unwitting passengers for

various ports, only to overpower them and sell them as slaves. Yet, worse than the fate of these poor victims was the insidious poison such a system infused into the Roman population. Not only did the people become indolent and possessed of a restless leisure that forced them to seek excitement in dangerous and cruel sports, not only did the tone of society become lowered and tastes coarsened, but steadily the menace to the state intensified as the number of slaves multiplied, brutalized by their treatment, embittered by their lot. When we consider that from such a condition men were continually being freed to swell the proletariat, it is easy to understand how alarming Roman mobs became.

"When we speak of the Roman mob, we must not forget that it was much more frightful than our own, and was recruited from more formidable elements. Whatever just dismay the populace that emerges all at once from the lowest quarters of our manufacturing cities, on a day of riot, may cause us, let us remember that at Rome this inferior social stratum descended still lower. Below the vagabond strangers and starving workmen, the ordinary tools of revolutions, there was all that crowd of freedmen demoralized by slavery, to whom liberty had given but one more means for evil doing; there were those gladiators, trained to fight beast or man, who made light of death of others or themselves; there were still lower those fugitive slaves, who were indeed the worst of all classes, who, after having robbed or murdered at home, and lived by pillage on the road, came from all Italy to take refuge and disappear in the obscurity of the slums of Rome, an unclean and a terrible multitude of men without families, without country, who, outlawed by the general sentiment of society, had nothing to respect as they had nothing to lose."[3]

It is plain that a vacillating senate and a populace such as this were no longer equal to the government of the civilized world. Slowly but surely the state was drifting back to one-man rule. It is customary to find in Augustus Cæsar the first Roman prince, but while the name of the Republic was preserved during the administration of Julius Cæsar, he actually held all departments of government in

his own control. The Republic, properly so-called, had actually expired before his time and an age of demagogues had intervened between it and the establishment of the Principate.

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[1] Ferrero: *Greatness and Decline of Rome,* Vol. I, p. 293.
[2] Ibid., p. 339.
[3] Bossier: *Cicero and His Friends,* Jones trans., p. 211.
[x] Stobart: *Grandeur that Was Rome,* p. 130.

THE CAREER OF CICERO

THE last century before Christ was characterized by individual rather than national achievement in Rome; for this reason the historian of the period necessarily becomes a biographer. From the intrigues of military men the modern reader finds it agreeable to turn to the victories of Cicero, won in the Forum rather than on the battlefield.

Born in 106 B. C. in the little town of Arpinum, Marcus Tullius Cicero came of middle class stock, his father and grandfather being country gentlemen who led retired lives in preference to public careers. The education of his two sons, Marcus and Quintus, was the first concern of the father, who removed to Rome in order that his boys might have instruction of the best Greek teachers in the capital.

From early years a seat in the Roman senate was the coveted goal of the young Marcus, and, like many a youth of his age, he regarded the rôle of the advocate as the one best suited to achieve this much desired position. Therefore he gave himself over to the study of oratory and rhetoric.

When a young man Cicero watched the steps by which Sulla waded through slaughter to the attainment of his ambitions and the horrible picture was indelibly impressed upon his mind. He himself, having defended one Sextus Roscius against a favorite freedman of Sulla's and secured his acquittal, found it advisable to leave Rome for awhile, in spite of having won considerable fame by his able defense. He went to Athens and studied with the best teachers of oratory and philosophy, traveled in Asia and stayed for a time in Rhodes, then famous for its school of oratory, returning home after the death of Sulla to enter upon his public career.

Cicero was sent as governor to Sicily, known as the first province, and established a reputation for fair dealing and just administration. Such records, unhappily, were few

among governors of provinces. At his departure prominent Sicilians, grateful for his consideration and honest dealings with their countrymen, held a great banquet for him and as a parting message he told them that if they ever needed him to come to Rome and find him. The words, so thoughtlessly spoken, were recalled years after under trying circumstances. Verres had governed Sicily for three years and during his administration the people had been subjected to unexampled cruelty, extortion and misrule. Seldom did provincials take advantage of the court maintained in Rome for the purpose of hearing cases of unfair treatment on the part of those sent to represent Roman law and order in the imperial possessions. Not only was the expense considerable in going so far, but the chances of getting miscreants convicted was slight because such cases were tried before senators who were inclined to be indulgent with those who increased their substance in these distant lands—each senator awaiting his turn to recoup his fortunes. However, so flagrant had been the injuries inflicted by Verres, so deep was the sense of outrage generally felt in the island, that men of wealth determined to make an effort in this instance to obtain justice. In their extremity they engaged Cicero to prosecute the case.

It was this celebrated trial that gave Cicero his subsequent standing in Rome. He was in his thirties, and while he had defended several clients, this was his first prosecution. Employing his ill-gotten gains, Verres had engaged the able Hortensius, most famous of Roman advocates, to defend him. The defendant and his counsel decided that it was wisest to have it appear that this was an effort on the part of the popular party to discredit the conservatives left by Sulla's proscriptions in control of the government.

It so happened that Rome was filled with visitors when the trial opened in August, 70 B. C. The elections had just taken place and many had come for the purpose of casting their votes. Soon were to occur the games promised by Pompey; a few weeks later, the Roman games; then those of Victory and finally the games of the Plebeians. The defense planned to let the testimony of witnesses drag along until adjournment for the holidays, after which public opin-

ion, at a high tension, would have time to abate. Thus Verres would be acquitted and the alleged attempt on the part of the people to check the high handed measures of the conservatives would be frustrated.

"From the foot of Mount Taurus, from the shores of the Black Sea, from many cities of the Grecian mainland, from many islands of the Ægean, from every city or market town of Sicily, deputations thronged Rome. In the porticoes and on the steps of the temple, in the area of the Forum, in the colonnades that surrounded it, on the housetops and on the overlooking declivities, were stationed dense and eager crowds of impoverished heirs and their guardians, bankrupt publicans and corn merchants, fathers bewailing their children carried off to the prætor's harem, children mourning their parents dead in the prætor's dungeons, a multitude swelled by thousands of spectators from Italy, partly attracted by the approaching games, and partly by curiosity to behold a criminal who had scourged and crucified Roman citizens, who had respected neither local nor national shrines, and who boasted that wealth would yet rescue the murderer, the violator, and the temple-robber from the hand of man and the Nemesis of the Gods."[1]

Cicero had spent two months in Sicily collecting evidence against Verres and securing witnesses, who were available on every hand. He planned to bring these forward in groups and to present his case largely from their testimony. Since the reign of terror during which Sulla had instructed his slaves and cut-throats to assail prominent citizens of the popular party and had put them to death to the number of several thousand, the commoners had lacked leaders and had been obliged to watch the selfish policy of the nobles and senatorial party with no means of redress. Now all pent up indignation suddenly found an outlet. The case was tried in the Forum and court recorders took down the addresses and evidence. Slaves trained to duplicate copies rapidly provided these for circulation in different parts of the city and in the provinces. It was customary for the prosecution to make a long oration at the outset of a trial, but Cicero economized time by speaking

briefly. He said that it was becoming generally accepted in the provinces that justice could no longer be obtained in the courts of Rome in cases such as this and that the reputation of the judiciary hung on this trial.

"For an opinion has now been established pernicious to us, and pernicious to the republic, which has been the common talk of everyone, not only at Rome but among foreign nations also—that in the courts of law as they exist at present, no wealthy man, however guilty he may be, can possibly be convicted. Now at this time of peril to your order and to your tribunals, when men are ready to attempt by harangues and by the proposal of new laws to increase the unpopularity of the Senate, Caius Verres is brought to trial as a criminal, a man condemned in the opinion of everyone by his life and actions, but acquitted, by the enormousness of his wealth, according to his own hope and boast. . . . While this man was prætor the Sicilians enjoyed neither their own laws nor the decrees of the Senate, nor the common rights of every nation. . . . Roman citizens were tortured and put to death like slaves; the greatest criminals were acquitted in the courts of justice through bribery; the most upright and honorable men, being prosecuted while absent, were condemned and banished without being heard in their own defense."

After a brief address of this character Hortensius declined to make the usual reply, claiming that such generalities had been voiced by Cicero that he did not find anything sufficiently definite to merit an answer. He instructed his client to ask no questions of the witnesses, to make no comment whatever, but to treat all testimony with scorn. In this way it was expected that the public would soon weary of the whole matter.

One can only feel with Ferrero that it is scarcely to be conceived that the worst villain who ever lived would have perpetrated all the atrocities that Cicero's witnesses testified against Verres. Yet, beyond any doubt he had outraged the territory he was sent to govern and outraged human decency even in an age when cruelty was the rule rather than the exception.

Instead of wearying as had been expected, day by day

the crowds became more dense and angry, as echoes of the trial penetrated to all districts of Rome. Finally, when one day it was related that upon being condemned to death by Verres, a man had cried out: "But I am a Roman citizen!" the governor had ironically said to his hangmen: "Crucify him with his face toward Rome, whence he may call for help," only the quick adjournment of court saved the miscreant from the fury of the auditors.

Cicero prepared several orations in connection with this trial but he never had opportunity to deliver any but his brief opening address, for Verres decided that acquittal could not longer be expected and voluntarily slipped away into exile to save himself from the mobs. Thereupon the court imposed a light fine and the affair was over save that it established Cicero's reputation as foremost orator of his time and, as he had triumphed over Hortensius, it placed him first at the Roman bar. Thereafter he became consul, and it was while he held this position that the well known conspiracy of Catiline took place.

Catiline had tried to attain political favor by legal and illegal methods, failing which he planned to instigate an uprising, not only in Rome but throughout Italy. His followers were recruited from the lowest dregs of society. His preparations required several months and it became impossible to keep them entirely secret. By various means Cicero was made aware of them and what he did not know he surmised. In a series of orations, which have been read by students of Latin ever since, he informed the senate of the conspirator's intentions. In their anger and dismay at the treason conceived within their very walls they were divided as to what sentence should be pronounced against him and his associates. Catiline bolted the hall, but the names of senators involved with him were made public. Julius Cæsar reminded the senate that it had no authority to pronounce sentence of death upon Roman citizens, but Cato the Younger continued to demand death of the conspirators until this judgment prevailed and Cicero as counsel carried out their decision. This act paved the way for his later exile. It would seem that the senate thought treason sanctioned the waiving of ordinary procedure and

for once acted with dispatch. Nor would Cicero have suffered for his part in the matter, having been given the name *Father of his Country* by a people grateful for his vigilance, except that a personal enemy, Clodius, failing to get retaliation in other ways, fell upon this technicality and secured the passage of a law banishing anyone who had ever condemned a Roman citizen to death without giving him recourse to an appeal to the people. Having thus brought about Cicero's exile, he was able to have his property confiscated and to interrupt his political career.

Whether or not Cicero could be accounted happy in his private life depends largely upon which of several biographers we follow. His wife Terentia is by some portrayed as a faithful sharer of his varying fortunes, by some as a shrew. Certainly Cicero was tenderly devoted to his lovely daughter whose untimely death was a blow from which he never wholly recovered. His son's education was his first care and he was more than an indulgent father in providing him means for study in Greece. Late in life Cicero divorced Terentia and married his ward, a girl in her teens. It is impossible to see in this anything more than a cold-blooded effort to recoup his fortune.

It is the public life of noted men that concerns posterity. Cicero was among the most scholarly men of his generation. His writings were prolific and he materially increased the Latin vocabulary, giving the language a refinement and polish previously unknown. His gifts as orator raised him above his contemporaries. Regrettably this was not sufficient to satisfy him, since his political successes had persuaded him that he was destined to fill an important rôle in the state. Extreme sensitiveness, inordinate egotism and lack of boldness in taking a firm stand and abiding by it regardless of other considerations unfitted him for such continued political service as he craved. A vacillating policy caused men like Cæsar to lose patience with him. It was his misfortune to be pursued by debt. He cared less for wealth than most men of his time and would not take advantage of political position to obtain money unscrupulously. It is in his letters, written with no thought that they would ever be preserved, that the man himself is revealed.

Many of them were collected by his secretary and published after his death. Because many of Cicero's writings have survived, they throw a light upon his age that is lacking for those years which immediately preceded and followed. Through them it is possible to reconstruct the period in detail, which in no small measure accounts for it often being characterized as the Age of Cicero.

It is interesting to know that his son Marcus, in his thirty-fifth year and some time after the death of his father, became consul in Rome and was able to avenge upon the family of Mark Antony the stain of Cicero's proscription. Statues which had been erected in honor of Antony were removed, and none of his descendants were thereafter permitted to bear the name of Marcus. "So fate intrusted to the household of Cicero the last act in the punishment of Antony"—in the words of Plutarch.

From Cicero at Dyrrachium (or Thessalonica) to His Wife Terentia at Rome, Nov. 25, B.C. 58

I send this with love, my dearest Terentia, hoping that you, and my little Tullia, and my Marcus, are all well.

From the letters of several people and the talk of everybody I hear that your courage and endurance are simply wonderful, and that no troubles of body or mind can exhaust your energy. How unhappy I am to think that with all your courage and devotion, your virtues and gentleness, you should have fallen into such misfortunes for me! And my sweet Tullia too,—that she who was once so proud of her father should have to undergo such troubles owing to him! And what shall I say about my boy Marcus, who ever since his faculties of perception awoke has felt the sharpest pangs of sorrow and misery? Now could I but think, as you tell me, that all this comes in the natural course of things, I could bear it a little easier. But it has been brought about entirely by my own fault, for thinking myself loved by those who were jealous of me, and turning from those who wanted to win me. Yet had I but used my own judgment, and not let the advice of friends who were either weak or perfidious weigh so much with me, we might now be living in perfect happiness. . . .

As to Quintus, I make no complaint of you, but you are the very two people I should most wish to see living in harmony, especially since there are none too many of you left to me. I have thanked the people you wanted me to, and mentioned that my information came from you. As to the block of houses which you tell me you mean to sell—why, good heavens! my dear Terentia, what *is* to be done! Oh, what troubles I have to bear! And if misfortune continues to persecute us, what will become of our poor boy? I cannot continue to write—my tears are too much for me; nor would I wish to betray you into the same emotion. All I can say is, that if our friends act up to their bounden duty we shall not want for money; if they do not, you will not be able to succeed only with your own. Let our unhappy fortunes, I entreat you, be a warning to us not to ruin our boy, who is ruined enough already. If he only has something to save him from absolute want, a fair share of talent and a fair share of luck will be all that is necessary to win anything else. Do not neglect your health, and send me messengers with letters to let me know what goes on, and how you yourselves are faring. My suspense in any case cannot now be long. Give my love to my little Tullia and my Marcus.

Dyrrachium, Nov. 26.

P.S.—I have moved to Dyrrachium because it is not only a free city, but very much in my interest, and quite near to Italy; but if the bustle of the place proves an annoyance I shall betake myself elsewhere and give you notice.

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[1] Quoted in Taylor: *Cicero.*